Racial Consciousness-1920
Changing Attitude of Negro

Symposium on "New Negro--What Is He?"

Age Readers Continue Discussion of The Qualities of Negro of Today.

The New York age.

A New Racial Entity

2-21-20

A Correspondent Makes Striking Comparison of Characteristics of Old and New Members of Race.

The Age is continuing this week the publication of letters from various correspondents, expressing their opinion of the question asked editorially in this paper in its issue of January 24—"The New Negro—What Is He?" The first batch of letters was published February 7, and the writers of those letters attributed to the Negro of today a development of race understanding and determination and a new racial unity.

This week's correspondents take much the same view, one writer declaring that the New Negro is a different product than the "Old" because of an environment which precludes direct contact with the white man. The "Old" Negro, according to this writer, had ingrained into his consciousness a belief in the white man as inherently superior and this was shown by his anxiety to seek the white man's approval for any contemplated action.

The New Negro, lacking that personal contact, has developed an individual independence and this has brought confidence in himself, in the race and in race enterprises. The letters are as follows:

part missing

the lack of ability to perform.

Not until the New Negro comes into the realm of financing scientifically can he fully demonstrate the true value of his development. Finance is the lever that puts all men on a level and brings to all people the proper recognition due them as a people.

ALAMANZA PORTER.

Scranton, Pa.

Part missing

this body and we thank God for it. The "New Negro" was benefited by this experience on the part of his white brother. He realized the worth of unity and he learned just how to handle it. He also knows just how far to go with it. It looks, after all, that unity has something to do with this question.

RACIAL UNDERSTANDING.—This is another quality that operate to make the "New Negro." Never before in the history of the Negro has there existed such understanding as there is to-day among the brothers of the race. Responsibility for this concrete understanding may be attributed largely to the recent World War. The very heart of our race was called to defend our supposed country. Never before had there been such enormous numbers of our race and class called together in such timely affiliation. They thoroughly learned the everyday ways of one and another.

The army, of course, classifies its men according to their qualifications. This taught the Negro to respect his race brother as superior and taught him the fact that there were certain qualities which entitled his brother to be his superior.

THE SELF-DEFENDING NEGRO. This is a quality also that we might use in the forming of the "New Negro." If we will turn the searchlight of recognition toward this "New Negro" we will find that he is standing on the justification of self-defense. That the Negro has always been loyal and ready to defend his country he has more than proved. Look at San Juan Hill, where he went over in the face of the Spaniard's shot and shell. Also he was called to even greater sacrifice when facing the hell-fire of the German's artillery. This he did and proved himself an important factor in that triumph.

But the contrast between the Negro of the Spanish-American war and the Negro of the world war is that the Negro of to-day has returned with many benefits perhaps not anticipated by his white brothers. The Negro of to-day has not returned wondering what he is going to get out of the war, but he has returned with the determination to get not only what is due him from the war but what he should have always had and has never got.

The past years have yielded race troubles so that is nothing new. But the Negro of to-day has proved himself to be more resistant and when he offered self-defense against attacks he opened up a new unrest. The Negro in Europe won a name as the American hero, although he never captured an enemy who carried a box of stove black and a piece of hempen rope. But the Negro of to-day, or the "New Negro," would probably be called the "American Parrot" who has a determination to rid America of everything that even looks like a "Cracker."

SHERMAN TATE.

Plainfield, N. J.

TOWARDS THE ONE COMMON END.

Promoter 11/1920

Diversified and distant as may appear the interests, theories and activities of the many Negro workers and propagandists — antagonistic as may appear the subjects on which each has made a specialty, the synthetic mind can see that they are all the emanations of the same cause and principle, and that they are pointing towards one common end—that is a deeper racial interest and realization.

Mr. William Bridges rears his banner with the slogan of "A Negro for President," Mr. Hubert Harrison insists on thoroughness and efficiency in education along all lines. He is of the unqualified belief that our culture should be of such a nature as to inspire race pride, race efficiency and a strong racial self-reliance. Lest we should forget, Mr. Harison brings to light every now and then his famous editorial "Racial Roots of Culture" in the editorial pages of the Negro World. Messrs. A. Phillip Randolph and Chandler Owen would have us know that the best interests of the race are to be secured through co-operation with radical movements which are working to overthrow our capitalistic system of society. They insist on the point that to a large extent race prejudice, segregation, disfranchisement and other evil conditions under which the Negro is suffering will cease with the passing of the capitalist system. Mr. Garvey has now appeared on the scene with the thundering slogan, "Back to Africa"—"Africa for the Africans." Since his appeal is more sensational than any other, it has developed a very large and enthusiastic following. It must be admitted that every one of these various slogans has in it possibilities and potencies of developing a greater and stronger racial interest and patriotism. They are all belonging to the future, and one seems especially dreamy; nevertheless they have the power of weakening the blind devotion and patriotism to the white mans interests and cause which have been the failure of the Negro during' all his alien life. They tend to make him think and act in behalf of his own interests.

On witnessing the enthusiasm and patriotism which are being displayed in Liberty Hall over the singing of the national anthem of the U. N. I. A. and at the display of the flag, one cannot help but seeing that they tend strongly to develop race loyalty which must at the same time weaken and falter the loyalty and enthusiasm to the national anthems, flags and other symbols of nationalism of the white man. Ours is undoubtedly an active age teeming with possible reforms. It is an age of great awakening. It is fit and fertile soil for sound, helpful propaganda. And it is the duty of every intelligent Negro to do his part in sowing the seeds of genuine reform.

Diversified as are our actions and interests, they are in some form or other tending towards the same common end. We are at this point reminded by the saying of an old sage: "The wise man seeth the truth in all doctrines; the narrow-minded man seeth only differences." There is no time to bicker or bark and fight. "Out in the intellectual sea, there is room enough for every sail. In the intellectual air, there is room enough for every wing." Useful, intelligent leadership is what the race now needs in every department of activity. It seems without a doubt that every sincere effort is tending toward the same end. After all, we may be forced to conclude with Shakespeare, "There is a divinity that shapes our ends."

THE NEW NEGRO AND THE OLD NEGRO

A few days ago at a church anniversary we heard a white minister admonish the race to get education, property and money and the race problem would be solved. The next in line to speak was a college professor of the race who went on to outline the tangible wealth of the Negro race, finally agreeing with the white minister that relgion, wealth and education would solve the race problem. Yet the thing that will bring about better conditions for the Negro or any one else was held in abeyance. **The white minister** knew quite well that so long as the Negro is denied the right of suffrage in this section he is fighting a hopeless battle, and that neither wealth, education nor religion will mitigate the circumstances that exist. **As to the college professor,** he represented the antithesis of the thought of intelligent men of our race and deep down in his heart he knew that the Negro of today is clamoring for that thing which is essential to the success of any group of people, be they white or black, which is the ballot. Among this motley crowd there was one of the feminine sex of the race who, in essaying, offered what she thought a proper solution for the Negro's problem. **With all of the unction and address** that she possessed she warned her hearers to not allow the young men of the race to have anything to do with the leadership of the present day. **We apologize for our rebuttal.** But we wonder is she is aware of the fact that JESUS CHRIST was a young man and represented the leading thought of the world yesterday, today and tomorrow? **What we need is the ballot!** We have accumulated wealth, we have gotten education and we have all of the religion of this world if the action of the church member stands for anything and none of this has gotten us anywhere, and we doubt that it ever will. The great handicap to the Negro race has been (and will continue to be as long as stupidity reigns) is that the men of thought of the race have been kept in the background and the White Man's Me-To-Boss-Negro has been given full swing and leadership and have failed to present the wants and ills of the Negro when given an opportunity. We hope that wherever men and women of our race are gathered with white people they will tell them what the majority of Negroes want. We also hope that the members of our race will keep abreast of the times, for had the lady who essayed so beautifully kept abreast of the times she would have known that her sex and color had been denied the right to register in the city of Birmingham, because they were Negroes. The college professor would have known that the government gives the Negro race the credit of an aggregate of one billion and a half dollars and yet this has not stopped the maltreatment of Negroes nor given them a square deal. We are ardent supporters of the educational program that the white minister and the college professor advocates, but time has shown that it avails nothing in the way of getting us justice. Our hope is based on the ballot! The illiteracy of the Negro has been brought down to 33%. **We started fifty-five years ago** without emolument or rank, and today ye are given credit for having made the greatest progress of any race in the annals of the world's history, and yet the problem is becoming more intricate each day, which proves that the only hope is the ballot. And if the ballot is not conducive to our success why do our friends use every method to keep it out of our hands?

If education, religion and property will bring greater results, we hold that the addition of the ballot will settle the race problem instantaneously. And the sooner the white man realizes this the better things will be for both races. No country or section can get very far that sets up a autocratic government.

THE REAL HEROES OF THE RACE

Much has been said regarding the development of the new racial consciousness which is evident everywhere. We see the colored people, all over the country, whether North, East, South or West. The persecution of fifty years, following closely as it did slavery of two hundred and fifty years, has awakened the colored man to the extent that he is more and more believing in himself; more and more looking to himself for the better things of life. The cause of this condition is that a large number of our people are beginning to think for themselves.

Years ago it was said that the South was the best place for the colored man; that in the North he would not live; that the people of the South were the best friends of the colored people, and a great many of our people believed this. But the movement of our people during the War, both as workmen and as soldiers has opened their eyes. and they are no longer contented to live in the South. More than a million and a half of people moved from the South in the past four years. They are scattered everywhere, from Boston to Seattle, and from Chicago to New Orleans. The movement of the colored people in the past four years was larger than their movement has been within the past one hundred years, and the education which comes from travel has largely come to them. It used to be said that only the scum of the South would come to the North. But witnin the past four years many of the South's most substantial citizens have come North, and many are planning to come North now.

But we wish to call attention to the great crowds that remain in the South. A great number of them have remained there because their children are there, because their fathers and mothers and grandfathers and grandmothers are in the South; because of the property which they own and the businesses which they have built up. A great many of the leaders of the South in education, in religion, in politics have felt the call for the better conditions in the North, but have remained in the South because the great masses of colored people are there. They have felt that it is their duty to educate these people to preach to them, to organize them, to help them conserve their wealth, to teach them the fundamentals of business, to guide them in the building of homes and of a real society. There are hundreds and thousands of intelligent colored people in the South who would leave the South to-morrow if it were merely for their own personal advancement. They feel the injustice of Jim Crowism and segregation and discrimination and the thousand and one humiliations come every day to the intelligent people there. They feel it quits as much as those who have left for the North. But they have not left because they feel that if they should leave the millions of untutored people who are unable to move at present from their unpleasant situation this situation would grow a great deal worse than it is. And while there is poor education, if these intelligent people should move out the education would be poorer. While there is a great deal of exploitation of Negro labor, if these intelligent people should move out this exploitation would become greater. These hundreds and thousands of intelligent colored people who still live in the South, in spite of all of the things which have been done to them, live there not because they approve of the South; not because they are misled to believe that the South is the best place for the Negro. Knowing the injustices which they suffer and longing for these better lands of more comfort and better protection they are still made up in their minds to live and suffer among their people where it is necessary; and they pray as well as their brethren in the North for the day when this race shall be welded together, as it must some day be welded together—North, South, East and West; where we can protect ourselves with our money, our ballot, with our labor and with all the forces which are given to humanity with which they are to protect themselves. We owe to these our brethren and sisters who still live in the South, as ministers, teachers, lawyers, physicians, farmers, business men and others a great debt of gratitude for the splendid heroism which they are showing under the condition through which our race is now passing and they are the real heroes to whom we should deference.

DEFINING THE NEW NEGRO

To the Editor of The Negro World:

Dear Sir: The question is being frequently asked what is the "New Negro?" It must be met and answered squarely. As the questioner is almost always an "Old Negro" this gives us the opportunity to answer by contrast. The New Negro then is the direct opposite of the Old Negro. As such we shall proceed to show what is the New Negro. New Negro, a man who shapes his action to the time in which he lives. Old Negro, a man who shapes his action to the time in which his boss lives. New Negro, a man who eats to live, a martyr to his race. Old Negro, a bad fellow, who lives to eat, a murderer of his race. New Negro, a biped of upright posture: Brave, determined, adamant man. Old Negro, quadruped with canine posture, hence lick-spittling, sycophantic, ignoble cur. In short, the Old Negro is the offscum of the New Negro.

Truly any Negro who glories in the failure of a Negro enterprise is really dead to the age in which he lives. Just imagine a Negro at this critical period, in our struggle for freedom and liberty, trying to betray a movement so magnanimous into the hands of the enemy race! We say imagine, but we are aware that imagination cannot compass the horror of this crime. The New Negro has already pronounced judgment upon you. Your present employers will soon spurn you and in a little while you shall have passed to the realm of Benedict Arnold.

Fraternally
JOSEPH ST. PRIEX.
Philadelphia.

Racial Consciousness – 1920
Changing Attitude of Negro.

The New Negro Vs. The Old---

3-20-20 The New Negro Age Readers Discuss Subject

Opinions Expressed on Question Which Has Aroused General Interest--- "The New Negro--- What Is He?"

THE NEW NEGRO VS. THE OLD.

In an editorial published January 24, The New York Age asked a question,—"The New Negro—What Is He?" Since that issue was circulated the editor has received many letters bringing answers to the question, and setting forth the qualities possessed by both the New Negro and the Old Negro. Many of these letters have been published in recent issues of The Age, and in this issue is given another batch.

These letters take a different tone from those already published. One writer takes up the cudgels in behalf of the Old Negro, declaring that the New is no better than the Old—that as soon as they were allowed freedom the Old Negro never flinched but achieved things, even to the governorship of states. He went on gloriously, says the writer, until the New Negro pulled him down.

Another writer declares, on the other hand, that the New Negro is far in advance of the Old; that the Old Negro suffered disfranchisement, jim crowing and discrimination, submitting with patience; "but there is a new spirit born in the New Negro," says the writer, "and he will not endure these unmanly acts any longer."

That the New Negro is the same except as to color of skin and kind of hair as the representative white man is set forth by another writer, who declares also that he differs from the white man in habit of life only by "the degree of difference between one with the best of opportunities and one with the least of opportunities." The same writer declares that "whatever the representative white man is that is what The New Negro is in aim of life." There is none of the "unchangeable docility of Uncle Tom . . . just as there is none of it in the character of the representative white man."

The letters are as follows:

The New vs. the Old.

To the Editor of the Age:

During the past month and the present, much has been said of "The New Negro—What is He?"

"The "New Negro" is no other than the improved Old Negro. The "New" is no better than the former. In comparison I will say this: The "Old," as most of us understand, were known and kept as slave; they were totally ignorant of the fact for being in the same class and standard as their masters. But as soon as they were allowed freedom, what did they achieve? Education, science, professions of all sorts were gotten. He has even served as Governor.

Positions of high office were at his command. Did the "Old Negro" flinch? No, he went on gloriously until the "New Negro" pulled him down.

But, Mr. Editor who is the "Old" Negro? Is he Fred Douglas, Payne or Allen, or even Booker T. Washington? Who is he?

Yes, some of our New Negroes have made the way—most of them for selfish ends. As soon as he gets rich, plums the line into the gang of poor masters whom they had once served in lowly capacities.

But the most celebrated "New" Negro is that man or woman who has the courage of Douglas and Allen in procuring for the race institutions such as Wilberforce and Oberlin. When the New Negro produces as much ambition as did Richard Allen and other men like him, then, and not until then, shall we be able to understand the rating status of the "Old" and the "New."

EDWARD CHAS. DOUGLAS.
Plainfield, N. J.

The Old and New Negro.

To the Editor of the Age:

We find the New Negro to be far in advance of the old one. For the old one has been disfranchised, jim-crowed discriminated against and lynched, and he has taken it all patiently; but there is a new spirit born in the New Negro and he will not endure these unmanly acts any longer. Because history shows us all along that the Negro has always been true to the colors; and has never let "Old Glory" trail in the dust, and therefore we should have the protection and privilege that every other American citizen has; and the New Negro is going to see to it that he obtains the privileges and protection that other citizens receive who are less law-abiding, and who have proven disloyal to the country in more than one way, but who still receive the protection of free men.

We find the New Negro far in advance of the old one along educational lines and this has been one of the greatest advantages of the Negro of today, because his eyes have been opened to the many faults of his so-called "Superior Brothers," which many did not see before.

Although the Negro has endured many hardships it has been the means of bringing them closer together. And this is going to be one of the greatest factors in aiding the black man to obtain his rights. We all know that a house divided against itself cannot stand, but when it joins forces it obtains power and is able to accomplish those things which it could not accomplish while divided.

When the World War was fought it was fought in the name of democracy and this is the time for the New Negro to show his ability in obtaining his equal portion of democracy; knowing that he has not as yet received the entire freedom fought for in the Civil War. But the Negro of today has got enough backbone and is self-supporting enough to see to it that he receives whatever any other citizen does from this last war in which he fought so bravely.

The one thing that both the old and the new Negro must continue to do is this—to keep his hand in God's Hand and resort to the weapon of "All-Prayer," and God, his Master, will bring him out, "Conqueror and more than conqueror."

LEILA WALKER.
Plainfield, N. J.

What the New Negro Is!

To the Editor of the Age:

"The New Negro—What Is He?"—He is the representative white man in every respect except in the color of his skin and the kink of his hair and differing from the white man in habit of life only by the degree of difference between one with the best of opportunities and one with the least of opportunities for development of the mind, the heart and the hand in the affairs of life.

Whatever the representative white man is that is what The New Negro is in aim of life, in beliefs as to the purpose for which man was made and the end to which man is to come in this world and in the next world. Imagaine a representative white man; give his characteristics, tell about the confidence he has in himself to try and do things and to have them to better his condition of life by; of his mental processes; of his power of deduction; of his power of invention; of his desire of peace and happiness in his pursuit of life; of his susceptibility to wants of his body and mind; of his fear of harm and the means he employs to safeguard against harm; of the reasons he loves or hates; of the qualities which excite his admiration or indignation; of his willingness or unwillingness to trust in the words of his fellowman under certain circumstances or conditions, and The New Negro is exactly like the man imagined in every particular.

There is none of the unchangeable docility of the "Uncle Tom," in the story called "Uncle Tom's Cabin," in the character of the New Negro, just as there is none of it in the character of the representative white man. The New Negro will not take a lick without giving one back or trying to do so to one who assaults him; and under provocation will do as the representative white man—strike the first blow.

See the Negro who is not content to stand and allow every mean advantage be taken of him by those who envy him because he is undaunted, or who would hinder him from rising because his skin is not fair; the Negro who has courage in danger and who does not falter or ask for certainty; who, failing to find a way will make a way to better opportunities in life and who conquers his place in the world—and you see The New Negro who is crowding to the front to secure his share. He is growing constantly in number every day, not despising his inheritance of forbears without place in the book of fame, but looking ahead to the day when his accomplishments of success will shine the brighter because he had no name of fame to help him on to eminence.

See the Negro who is clever, industrious, intelligent, unobtrusive in behavior towards others, thoughtful of the rights of others, jealous of his own rights and willing and ready to declare for them anywhere, everywhere, anytime, despite of derogations in influential quarters against his exercise and enjoyment of them and you see the New Negro with the spirit of Fred Douglas, risking all he has to be free, to be a man among men of all races. He is the man into whose soul the spirit of Douglas and of all of those who made use of the "Underground Railroad" to get to freedom of body and freedom of soul from bondage has been personified and prepared to work out the destiny of its possessors in the "land of the free and home of the brave" as our country is called.

He is not the trimmer, the unprincipled, the "get-by" individual, with fine speech and no character, who acclaims his own leadership, despite his lack of probity and his lack of seriousness and lives by means of questionable methods rather than by honest praise-worthy endeavors.

See the Negro in his office, or at the desk where he is employed by others to do clerical work, or behind the business counter, or on the farm, in the shops of mechanics or in any of the pursuits of life, whether as a "shiner or bootblack," a porter or charwoman, hod-carrier or a railroad hand, a driver of hacks, a policeman, or one in any of the learned professions who gives his whole heart to his work and who has only the high purpose of life to serve—and there you have "The New Negro and What He Is!"

VICTOR P. THOMAS.
New Orleans, La.

A GREAT RACIAL AWAKENING

All signs point to a great racial awakening. It has taken a long time to develop, but there is no doubt of the fact. For more than two centuries the Negro looked for outside help almost entirely, but it didn't materialize—he had a rude awakening. He found to his regret that others only intended to use him for their own selfish purposes rather than to develop those powers of mind and soul which would make him a helpful and useful citizen, a man among men.

It was never intended that he should take his place in the civil, political and business world. It was never contemplated that he should become a member of the body-politic, but simply a ward and serf to serve other people. In this capacity he served for more than two hundred fifty years. It did not end when Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863, or when the war between the states closed. It went on during reconstruction times and ever since. But the quiet work of the schools which have opened to him, and his contact with other men in civilized life, have enabled him to find himself. He has discovered that he has powers of mind and soul like other men and that he has a great destiny to work out for himself and his posterity.

This awakening is shown in the emphasis he is placing on the education of his children. He is sending them to school as never before. He realizes that education lies at the very foundation of his success as a people. As a result the race is establishing schools and colleges and equiping them out of its pocket. They realize as never before that they must help themselves if they are to be helped. They are greatful for what others may do, but they are convinced that the main support must come from themselves.

Hence, denominational schools and colleges, as well as undenominational, are being established in all the south land. There was never so much interest manifested in education as now. The many schools and colleges are filled to capacity—many are turned away for lack of accomodation. The public schools are full and private schools are being established to accommodate the vast number who are clamoring to enter. And as the years go by, greater interest will be shown until there will not be a Negro boy or girl who will not have the advantages of a common school education.

The same interest is shown along business lines. Great corporations are being established throughout the south where Negroes live, and the same thing is true in many communities of the north. In New York City the Negroes are doing business on a large scale—real estate companies are being organized, purchasing large real estate properties up in Harlem and choice homes are being purchased and let to colored people. The progress they are making is wonderful—it borders almost on the miraculous.

The same may be said of Philadelphia, Banks on a large scale are being established running up into millions, and colored realty companies are buying and selling homes to their own people.

The same is true of Chicago, Indianapolis and other cities of the north. If

additional proof is necessary to prove that there is a great racial awakening among colored people of this country you need only recall the great National Negro Business League, which met in Philadelphia in August. It was the greatest aggregation of colored business men that ever met in this country. Men in all walks of life were present and manifested an interest that would have done credit to any people on earth. Most excellent reports were made and hundreds of new businesses were presented. The enthusiasm and inspiration ran high and a tidal wave swept through the country that will be felt by Negro people for time to come. It is not too much to state that the inspiration and impetus which Negro businesses received at the National Negro Business League will make them a part and parcel of the business of this country, and this is all the more gratifying because the business of any people lies at the very foundation of its prosperity and happiness.

Never in the history of the race was the race more united in pulling for their civil and political rights. They are presenting a solid front all over this country. They are seeing to it that their rights as citizens—civil, political, industrial and economic—shall be the same as that of any other group of American citizens. They are impressing upon the great Republican Party and its candidates that they are entitled to every right by reason of their achievments in this country. They have stood the acid test on Flanders field, in raising funds to carry on the great war when our men, women and children waged a battle royal in purchasing War Saving Stamps and Liberty Bonds for world Victory. Well did Governor Coolidge, vice-presidential nominee declare in his acceptace speech, that a people who had given one dollar out of every five to help carry on a great war, in honor of their Country's flag, were entitled to every right and consideration their country could give. Thus it is seen that there has come a great racial awakening and it has come to stay. It will increase in momentum as the years go by, until the Fifteen Million Negro people in this country shall enjoy every right to which they are entitled.

Symposium on "New Negro--What Is He?"

The New York Age

Age Readers Continue Discussion of The Qualities of Negro of Today.

A New Racial Entity

A Correspondent Makes Striking Comparison of Characteristics of Old and New Members of Race.

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This week's correspondents take much the same view, one writer declaring that the New Negro is a different product than the "Old" because of an environment which precludes direct contact with the white man. The "Old" Negro, according to this writer, had ingrained into his consciousness a belief in the white man as inherently superior and this was shown by his anxiety to seek the white man's approval for any contemplated action.

The New Negro, lacking that personal contact, has developed an individual independence and this has brought confidence in himself, in the race and in race enterprises. The letters are as follows:

THE NEW AND THE OLD

To the Editor of The Age:

In your issue of January 24 you express your inability to comprehend the term "New Negro." This term, while seemingly the "rights" of some two or three young men of the race, who seem to take especial pride in designating themselves as the only ultra-radicals of the race, does not preclude the present writer from expressing the sober conviction that there is at this time among Negroes a class (and it is rapidly growing) whose economic, social and civic environment has been understanding and determination such as to imbue them with a psychosocial consciousness so completely beyond the conception and powers of apprehension of the Negro of the past, that no other term except New Negro, can adequately describe them.

Let us see if we can make our contention clear. The Negro of the past, not only the rank and file, but the leaders as well, were what we might call, for want of a better term, domestic off-shoots. That is to say, they were so closely allied with the white race—the result of economic forces of course—as to be practically regarded as products of that race. And no matter what they might achieve, there was always the subconscious influence, as a result of this condition, working in the mind of even his most sanguine champion, which made it impossible for them to regard him other than such. And nobody who has any knowledge of the subject, can deny that every Negro leader of the past was the protege of some particular group of white men.

As to the whole body of Negroes, they had been born and raised practically in the white household of the South. This fact is responsible for the latter's persistent assertion that they "know" the Negro. They did know the "old" Negro. But wherein does the Negro of to-day differ? you ask. Let us see.

Wanted Children Different.

The "old" Negro leaders, though they themselves were so intimately associated with the white man, did not, as a rule, die without leaving their children in circumstances which would make it unnecessary for them to become servants of the white man. Not only was this true of the Negro leader, but those who, ambitious to rise in the professions, were of necessity forced to become menials in order to realize their desire, likewise abhorred the idea of their sons and daughters becoming what they themselves had been.

Thus through a process of what we might call economic evolution, a class has been gradually built up among Negroes—and as I have said before, it is rapidly growing—that has had no personal contact with the white race. And by the same token, the white race has had no personal contact with them, and knows no more about them psychologically, than they know about the hopes and aspirations of the inhabitants of the Tonga Islands.

And right here, in my judgment, we put our finger on the core of the race question. The white man, because he does not know this latter Negro, will not admit that he exists. Not even in the abstract. When you tell him that there is such a Negro, he will not be convinced—at least he pretends that he is not, which amounts to the same thing—but regards this Negro as a potential domestic servant trying to imitate "white folks." The "old" Negro, when he went to school, studied nothing but books written by Anglo-Saxons. These books taught him that the white race contributed every worth while effort that has been made in the advance of civilization. And above all they were taught that the Negro is congenitally inferior to the white man and could never hope to attain to the latter's intellectual development.

Civilization of Ancient Blacks.

The New Negro today knows that this is a lie, made of the whole cloth. They know that there was a highly cultivated civilization of ancient black races in existence when the present lords of creation were wearing a breech-cloth. Not only this, but every year with increasing frequency Northern and Western colleges are graduating Negro scholars who outrank their white class-mates both intellectually and athletically. Only a few weeks ago, we read of a graduating class of high school girls in California refusing to participate in the class exercises because a Negro girl—and the only one in the class, at that—had earned the place of honor.

Whereas the "old" Negro—accepting the white man at his own valuation because he did not have sufficient facts to dispute him—regarded him as the monarch of all human kind, the "New" Negro knows instead, that he is—when it best serves his purpose—the greatest liar in christendom.

I have attempted here to draw a concrete example of the New Negro. But there is another Negro who, while his economic and sociological relationship with the white man does not materially differ from that of the "old" Negro, can nevertheless be counted among the new group by reason of the fact that he is coming more and more under the influence of this group.

To illustrate: I said a moment ago that the "old" Negro regarded the white man as the superior human being of creation. This belief inhibited them from reposing either faith or trust in their own kind. If they wanted information they went to the white man. If they wanted legal advice they went to the white man. If they wanted medical treatment they went to the white man. Today among the generality of Negroes there is a

DISLIKE OLD LINE RADICAL LEADERSHIP

The Guardian

White Michigan Newspaper Comments on Trotter's speech at Jackson, Michigan, claims Colored should not Insist on Their Acknowledged rights but Take the Booker Washington route—Editor heard the Speech. 3-27-20.

(Jackson News, March 8, 1920.)

Mr. William M. Trotter, negro editor of a paper published for the Colored people of the United States, declared Wednesday night to a Jackson audience, that the "democracy of the United States is disgraced by the human colorline." His speech was an extreme statement and discussion of one of the most difficult problems in the world. No one alive today is to blame for America's race question, nor has the wisest man, colored or white, any present answer for it. There is no way out except by the long process of evolution, which will be longer or shorter as less or more of sympathy, wisdom, and patience, are brought into play. Of one thing, though, we may be sure: The Colored race will find its nearest approach to a real democracy by following the leadership of men like Booker T. Washington, instead of men like Mr. Trotter.

The Negro in America today is suffering from a century of wrong that began and ended before any person living today was born. To theorize about conditions helps not at all. The question is, what is to be done? Booker Washington urged his people to find release by learning trades, by industry, and thrift. Mr. Trotter preaches a veiled threat of rebellion.

No sensible man supposes that eleven millions organized could gain true democracy, or anything else but disaster by fighting against 100 millions. But all of us know that the Colored man who works and saves his money, gains the respect of negroes and whites alike. Whatever of liberty and happiness is possible to either must come in that way. In no other way can it come. Mr. Trotter is a false prophet who would lead his own people to destruction.

Racial Consciousness - 1920.

Changing Attitude of Negro.

THE AWAKENING NEGRO 4-8-20.

The Christian Recorder

We will publish in the next issue of the Christian Recorder a number of clippings from colored weekly papers telling of the general awakening of the colored man in different parts of the country so far as business is concerned. We have been told from time to time that we are not producers but consumers. Of course this is wrong: we are producers. The trouble is that we do not consume in proportion to what we produce. The Negroes in this country produce more than five billion dollars worth of wealth each year and for this get only about one and a half billion dollars. But even this one and a half billion dollars have been spent by us too thoughtlessly. We doubt if we spend more than one per cent of this one and a half billion dollars among ourselves. We have been in the habit of making other people rich and suffering ourselves. We have permitted grocers and shoe dealers and other merchants to come in among colored people and start their business, grow rich, move out of our neighborhoods, establish a store in a more respectable (?) neighborhood, so-called, and then draw the color line. This has been the usual case North and South. Even in the matter of restaurants and amusement places, there are thousands of white men who have grown rich off colored people and as soon as they have gotten rich enough to buy fine houses, horses and automobiles, etc., they have moved out of the colored neighborhood, and put up a sign "for whites only," and the Negroes have stood for it all over this country. Here in Philadelphia, it is estimated that we spend more than $30,000,000 every year for food and yet we do not spend one-half million dollars among our own people. There are at least ten communities that are almost solidly colored, in which there are no colored stores, where the colored people spend all their money with white people, where all of the clerks are white and most of the patrons are colored, where the service is poor and all the profits which are usually very high, go to white people, to give them comfort, educate their children, in order that they might elevate themselves the higher, so as to draw the color line and look down on us as "Niggers."

To illustrate the enormous profits that are made among colored people, the following trival instance occured to the editor the other day: he happened to be in a restaurant in New York where it is said that prices are high. Among the things he ate was "Charlotte Russe," price ten cents. When he returned to Philadelphia the next day, with the taste still in his mouth, he went to a South street baker to purchase two. He was told that they were 30c. The cooking was not as good as the New York article, the article was not as large and did not taste as well. Yet we had to pay fifty per cent more in a colored district in Philadelphia, than in a business district n New York. Agan in the Philadelphia bakery we counted only four white people all of whom were employees of the establishment, while there were seventeen colored people during the five minutes which the editor stayed in this place, all of whom were spending their money. We watched the cash register and eleven purchases totaled $2.55, or nearly 25c per purchase, or 51 cents per minute. If this store charges the colored trade from twenty-five to fifty per cent more than they have to pay in other places as it did the editor, the proprietors must be getting rich very quickly, making a profit on us of at least 25c per minute or $15.00 per hour, or $150 to $200 per day. What are we doing?

It is said that we are the best cooks in the world and yet when it comes to organizing cooking, we have the poorest cooks in the world. Of the millions of people in this city and vicinity who have to eat bread every morning, very few of them eat bread cooked by colored people, and of the hundred and fifty thousand colored people, it is doubtful if there are fifty thousand who eat bread of their own cooking or the cooking of any colored person. The same is true of washing. We are proverbial washer-women, and yet when it comes to organizing the washing business we are far behind.. A young man came to our office the other day and said that he had been working for six years for a white man, that he ran his laundry with colored help, worked hard, and about the only thing that the white man did was to come and get the profits, and he got sufficient profits to buy fine houses and automobiles and to educate his people, while these colored people are still comparatvely ignorant And yet the so-called leaders of our race stand for it.

The people in St. Louis seem to have the right idea. The colored neighborhood ought to be sold to by a colored grocer, protected by a colored policeman; schools taught by colored teachers, the Gospel preached by a colored preacher, and the sick attended by a colored doctor. That is not segregation and it is not drawing the color line. It is just human nature. And we ought to get to the place just as soon as possible where we will organize ourselves to clothe ourselves. The Jew does it; the Italian does it; everybody else does it except ourselves, and when some try to do it there are some of those who are incompetent or jealous who say the color line is drawn. In the great big city of Philadelphia we have only one bank. There are 150,000 colored people in this city and yet there is only one bank and there are other cities such as Savannah, Ga., with less than 40,000 colored people that has three banks; Norfolk, Va., with about the same number. There is Atlanta, Ga.; Montgomery, Ala.; Jacksonville, Fla., and other places that do not have one-third of the colored people which we have, have twice as many banks as we have. We are glad to see our people waking up all over the country and we hope that the sleepy Philadelphians will soon turn over and open their eyes and wake up.

DECLARATION OF NE(ST TO BE WRITTEN DUR

7-10-1920

Great Universal Co os

Every Community in America, the Wes ca and Africa Will Be Represented—Bi

Fellow Men of the Negro Race, Greeting:—

Last Sunday was Independence Day in the United States of America. One hundred and forty-four years ago a noble body of men met at Philadelphia in Independence Hall and there signed the Declaration of American Independence. At the time when those men signed that declaration, America was divided into thirteen colonies owing allegiance to the imperial George of England. There was a feeling among those men that all men were created free and equal and entitled to enjoy the privileges of free men. They were fettered and hampered in the enjoyment of these privileges of liberty. The highest spirit of freedom forced them to the conclusion that as men they should rule and shape their own destiny. Out of this determination of theirs they declared a war that ultimately gave to the present generation of Americans a free and independent America, the greatest Republic in the world.

What these Fathers of American Independence did one hundred and forty-four years ago is just what the Universal Negro Improvement Association with its three million members is endeavoring to do for the four hundred million Negroes of the world and for succeeding generations of the race. We believe that all men are entitled to the full privileges of liberty, realizing therefore how circumvented the millions of black people are, how deprived they are of their freedom, of true liberty, it becomes our duty in this age to assemble ourselves together, not in Independence Hall at Philadelphia, but in the Liberty Hall of New York and there sign our Declaration of Independence, the independence of a free and redeemed Africa.

On the 1st of August every Negro of any worth and ambition will concentrate his moral and financial support in giving it to the great convention of the Universal Negro Improvement Association to assemble in Liberty Hall. Men and women of the race from all parts of the world will attend the great convention, to take part in the thirty-one days of deliberation in the forming of the great Constitution of Liberty, and signing the Declaration of Independence of a free Africa, which will be the great concerns of the convention during its sitting. When it is considered that fifteen million Negroes in the United States of America, the millions in the West Indies and the millions of Africa are suffering in a similar manner, we will not hesitate for one moment to think otherwise, than as Negroes, we have a common cause, and that is the desire for true liberty. In my previous messages I have offered an open invitation to all Negroes, to all organizations, churches, clubs, fraternal societies and educational institutions to send delegates to this convention so that it can be truly representative of all the Negro people. I here repeat this invitation and trust that every lettered man and woman in these United States of America and every other part of the world will respond to the call and help the Universal Negro Improvement Association to put through this greatest of all conventions, to make this event so historic as to enable us in another one hundred forty-four years to celebrate with as much pride the Independence of Africa as the ninety millions of White Americans celebrated their independence last Sunday. Please remember that the association is raising a convention fund of two million dollars, and each member of the race can do something to help this fund. You may send in from one to one hundred dollars to the Chancellor of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, 56 West 135th Street, New York City, United States of America, to help the cause.

And now let me say a word for the Black Star Line Steamship Corporation, as now is the time when every real Negro, when every patriot of the race, should subscribe to the shares of the Black Star Line. Now more than ever this corporation needs your financial support for the purpose of purchasing more ships. The corporation wants more ships that will sail the seven seas, that will carry the cargo and the valuable merchandise of the race from one country to the other. The corporation desires to have the Black Star Line float in the breeze of time, to the credit and glory of the race. This can be done only by every member of the race purchasing shares to the limit. If you have bought five, ten, or twenty shares, buy ten more, buy twenty more, buy as many more as you possibly can, so that by your assistance and the assistance of the other fellow we may be able to present to the world a Black Star Line capable of holding its own, even against the White Star Line, the Red Star Line, the Green Star Line or any other line. In buying your shares, remember you are buying for profit to yourselves, to your race and to your children. Remember, it is a sound investment, and may it be said that for once Negroes were able to cooperate on one given thing and made a great success of it. Send in today and buy your shares at the office of the Black Star Line 56 West 135th Street, New York City, U. S. A.

With very best wishes for your success,

Yours fraternally,

MARCUS GARVEY.

New York, July 6, 1920.

Racial Consciousness—1920
Garvey's Colonization Idea.

"BLACK AND YELLOW PERIL JOIN HANDS," WRITER SAYS

"Pan-African Movement" Is Regarded Seriously by This and Other Governments, Cunliffe-Owen Asserts.

By FREDERICK CUNLIFFE-OWEN.

Although there seems to be a general disposition in this country to treat the thirty days' "convention of the Negro race," now in progress in New York, in the light of a joke, yet it is engaging the serious attention, not only of the administration at Washington, but also of several friendly governments, notably those of Great Britain and France.

It is true that the platform antics of the Jamaican darkey, Marcus Garvey, in his gold and purple robes, his expectation of being addressed as "your majesty," and his extravagances of language, perhaps peculiar to his race, are of a nature to invite ridicule. But, going beneath the sur-

face, the gathering must be looked upon as a manifestation of a movement that has made amazing progress during the last two decades here in America, as well as in the Dark Continent; a movement that threatens ere long to develop into an international peril—nay, into a menace to the entire white races of the world.

We are already confronted by the pan-Asiatic spectre, to which we have given the name of the "Yellow Peril." We are now being brought face to face with a "Black Peril" in the form of the organization of a pan-African union of all the Negro tribes and nationalities: not against those of Asia, but frankly and avowedly against the white races of the universe.

Other Elements.

In the case of both of these movements, Bolsheviki influences have been at work during the last two or three years, and their hand is apparent. Moreover, there is a considerable amount of evidence to show pan-Asia and pan-Africa are in sympathy with one another in their animosity against the white nations.

Even those Americans who, since they have been called upon to pay, in the form of extortionate taxes, the colossal expenditures incurred by the government in the great war, from which they insist they derived no tangible benefit, decline to interest themselves any longer in what goes on abroad, cannot afford to remain indifferent to this awakening of the Negro races into a great pan-African force. For although the blacks of the continental portion of the United States form but a tenth part of the entire population, yet by means of association they are becoming more and more of a factor in the economic situation. Furnishing as they do the bulk of the unskilled labor in the south, there are certain national industries, notably that of cotton, almost entirely dependent upon their willingness to work. Until the great war they were virtually excluded by union labor from all its skilled callings. But so powerful has the Negro element become by means of co-operation, that they have forced the American Federation of Labor to abandon its discrimination against them, and to receive them on a footing of perfect equality with the whites; while they are already hand in glove with the more advanced and extremist labor organizations among them the I. W. W. When one recalls how violent was the opposition of all the great American labor organizations against the admission of any Negro to their ranks, their reluctant abandonment of this policy of exclusion can only be construed as a demonstration of the force which the blacks have been able to bring to bear upon them by means of co-operation.

Thoroughly Discontented.

The victory which they have thus achieved is naturally bound to encourage them to further ambitions, in the way of the removal of the economic, political, and social disabilities that now handicap their aspirations. They are thoroughly discontented with their lot, more so than ever since the great war, in which nearly 400,000 of them took an active part, and where those who fought abroad were treated by the French and by the other allied nations of Europe with a degree of consideration and cordiality that was withheld from them by their white American comrades and fellow citizens there and here. And since they are malcontents, are destined to become more so, and have now become conscious of their strength, as shown by their victory against the most powerful labor organization in this country, we may look toward their becoming in very short order a disturbing factor in the political and economic system of this country.

Among the features of this Negro movement which have attracted the attention of the authorities both here and in Great Britain, is the abundance of funds which its leaders seem to have at their disposal. Thus, they have a number of daily newspapers, weekly journals, and monthly magazines, some of them edited by Negroes who are graduates of Harvard and of other white universities, and which have a large circulation.

A Woman Champion.

As long as she was alive, the late Mrs. C. J. Walker of New York, a millionaire Negress, contributed largely to the funds of these various organs. She made a large fortune by selling a treatment to take the kinks out of Negroes' hair, and other toilet preparations. She was an ardent champion of the rights and aspirations of her race, and exercised a considerable influence over its leaders.

Mrs. Walker was a member of a committee of the International League of Darker Races, which on Jan. 7, 1919, held a conference at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York, with the Japanese special embassy to the peace congress in Paris, which was represented at the meeting by S. Kuroyawa, owner of a string of newspapers in Japan, and publicity delegate of the mission. She was accompanied by Asa Philip Randolph, a close associate of Marcus Garvey, and one of the editors of the Negro World and of The Messenger. The points under discussion at that meeting were "the principle of self-determination in relation to Africa; the abolition and prohibition of all economic, political, and social distinction based upon color; and freedom of immigration for all people, regardless of race, nationality, and hue."

More Details.

Subsequently, a syndicate was formed, with offices on lower Broadway, by radical Negroes and Japanese, for the avowed purpose of importing silk and exporting dyes, which is merely a cloak to conceal its political activities. The names of the Japanese connected with the syndicate are in the hands of the federal authorities, as also are the names of the Negroes actively interested in the concern, one of whom is a close friend and associate of Garvey. Several cable despatches passed between the syndicate and members of the Japanese peace delegation in Paris during the first six months of 1919.

Moreover, in the Negro World, Randolph's paper, is the following paragraph:

"The next war will be between the Negroes and the whites, unless our demands for justice are recognized. With Japan to fight with us, we can win such a war."

And in another issue of the same paper:

"With the rising militarism of Asia, and the standing militarism of Europe, one can foresee nothing else but an armed clash between the white and yellow races. When this clash of millions comes an opportunity will present itself to the Negro people of the world to free themselves. At that time, whether you are born an American Negro, a West Indian Negro, or an African Negro, there will be no time to think of anything else but Negro liberty on the continent of Africa. It will be through the winning of the day for African arms that the Negroes both of America and of the West Indies will be rendered safe for all time."

As to Nations' League.

From still another number of the Negro World the following is taken:

"On the subject of Africa, the only government that believes in freedom for the natives of that continent is that of Bolshevist Russia, which has incorporated its belief into its declaration of rights. The other governments, like that of the United States, Italy, Japan, England, and France, are all in favor of the infamous League of Nations (Plague of Abominations), which proposes to subject Africa to perpetual, unresisting exploitation."

The Negro World also laments the false stories circulated about Bolshevist misdeeds; while the Messenger, with which Randolph is likewise connected, protests in almost every one of its numbers against the activities of the allies against Soviet Russia.

All the foremost authorities on the problems connected with the black races, such as Sir Arthur Lawley, who spent a number of years as governor in South Africa; Lord Milner, now secretary of state for the colonies; the late Frederick Courtenay Selous, lion hunter and writer upon questions relating to the Zulus and to the Kaffirs; Sir Harry Johnston, Dr. Charles Peters, German explorer; Archibald Colquhoun, and others who have studied the Negro question, regard the pan-African movement as the greatest danger by which the dark continent is confronted and are well nigh unanimous in ascribing an American origin thereto.

Whereas here the whites are ten times as numerous as the blacks, in Africa the whites represent barely 1 per cent. of an average native populaton of 200 millions, all more or less united by a common sentiment of inherited resentment against the whites, and by an overwhelming desire to drive them out of the land of Ham.

Another's Views.

Sir Arthur Lawley, when he left South Africa to assume the governorship of Madras, uttered publicly his conviction that sooner or later a great rising of the Blacks against the Whites would take place throughout the length and breadth of the Dark Continent. These views were not those of an irresponsible alarmist and sensation-monger, but of a colonial administrator of extensive experience, and invested with one of the most important offices in the gift of the British crown.

The assertion that the movement in Africa was promoted in its inception by the Colored Methodist Church of America has been denied by the latter which has also disclaimed any intimate association with the pan-African Church of Ethiopia in the Dark Continent. Yet some time ago, in the Voice of Missions, the official organ of the African Methodist Church of America, published at Atlanta, Ga., was printed an expression of the hope that "The blacks would drive the English out of South Africa, in the same way that the French had been pitched out of Hayti."

Racial Consciousness - 1920.

Garvey's Colonization Idea.

UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION AND BLACK STAR LINE STEAMSHIP CORPORATION START DRIVE TO BUILD UP LIBERIA

11 — 20 — 20

GREAT FUTURE IN STORE FOR ALL NEGROES

Fellow Men of the Negro Race, Greeting:—

To you I write today bidding you to be of good cheer. Just at this time we are at the turning point of our destiny.

The Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League, which seeks to draw all the Negro people of the world into one great and mighty whole, has now launched its African construction plans. These plans are so far-reaching and extensive as to call for the co-operation and help of every Negro man and woman. The Executive Council of this organization has decided to start construction work in Liberia, West Africa, in January, 1921, for the commercial and industrial development of this free African Republic, the future home of all ambitious and well-thinking Negroes.

This organization is raising a Construction Loan of $2,000,000 from its members, and already the great Divisions of New York and Philadelphia have started to subscribe their quota. With the $2,000,000 the organization intends to send out men and material in January, 1921, for the purpose of laying the foundation of our great work in our homeland.

The Black Star Line Steamship Corporation has entered into an agreement with the Universal Negro Improvement Association to convey the materials and men to our new industrial post in Africa, and for this reason the directors are asking the Negroes everywhere to buy shares in this steamship corporation so as to enable them to secure the necessary tonnage of ships for the transportation of our men and materials.

It is expected that the first ship will sail in January, 1921, and the Black Star Line desires to raise $250,000 for the equipment of the ships on the African route.

The shares in the Black Star Line are sold at $5.00 each, and each member of the race can buy from one to two hundred shares. Great profits will be derived from this African trade, wherein the ships will carry the manufactured commodities fror the United States of America and from England and France, an take raw materials in Africa back to the United States.

All those who desire to help in the great development c Africa should invest, because a great future is in store for eac and every one who falls in at this time with the Universal Negr Improvement Association and with the Black Star Line.

This is an opportunity that every man, woman and child o the race should embrace. It may never return again.

To picture before our eyes the glories of our own common wealth is to feel the inspiration of service just at this time. Large cities and townships and villages must be built in Liberia. Institutions of learning, mills and factories must be constructed and the Little African Republic must bloom up within the next five years as one of the greatest industrial centres in the world. There are enough Negroes in the world to do it, and it must be done. It is no question or reason why; it is but to do.

We should take courage from the fact that other men of other races in ages past have built up cities, states, nations and empires with smaller beginnings than we are attempting to do. There is a great future in store for each and every Negro who is ambitious enough to soar to the heights above. Whether you be in Georgia, Alabama, Texas, North Carolina, Illinois, Philadelphia, New York, Massachusetts or Pennsylvania, the call is made to you now to support the Universal Negro Improvement Association and the Black Star Line Steamship Corporation. Send in immediately as you read this article and buy 5, 10, 20, 30, 50, 100 or 200 shares of stock at $5.00 each. Address the Black Star Line Steamship Corporation, 56 West 135th Street, New York City.

With best wishes, Yours fraternally,

MARCUS GARVEY.

New York, November 13, 1920.

Racial Consciousness – 1920.

Nomenclature

THE GLOBE AND "PICCANINIES"

The New York Globe

We have been at a loss to understand many times the mental processes of many white friends of the colored race. Professing to believe in according the race respect that is due every loyal and deserving element of the population, not infrequently those friends will speak publicly in either patronizing or derisive terms of it. The New York Globe illustrated this in a most thoughtless and offensive manner in its issues of last week in referring to the efforts of the New York News Charity Bureau. An appeal was sent by a most thoughtful and firm friend of the Bureau, Miss Josephine Day Nye, to the Globe in behalf of the little colored children of Harlem. The Globe captioned the appeal "Piccaninies." The National Advancement Association's assistant secretary protested to the Globe, and properly. We also protested. While protesting we took occasion to not only reprove the Globe, but also the Association, for the latter itself is guilty, it seems to us, of an inveterate and insidiously harmful use of the word "Negro." We do not believe that we should attempt to build a nation within the nation any more than the white race should seek through propaganda to make us inferior wards of the nation. The Globe would not so deride the Jews or Italians with opprobrious epithets. Neither should we fail to emphasize on every occasion by word and deed that black Americans are people and citizens. We have, therefore, protested as follows to the Advancement Association:

"Assistant Secretary Advancement Association:

"I am glad you called my attention to the article in the New York Globe headed 'Piccaninies' which has for its basis the statement concerning the work of the New York Charity Bureau for Colored children at this Christmas time.

"You are thoroughly right, but you go only half the way. When you use the word 'Negroes' as you do inveterately and as your Association does, you are building the wrong concept o. the American people. This word too, has been subject to the same abuse by prejudice white people and white people who have been inclined to ridicule the Race.

"Let me urge as a practical suggestion for you and the Association—neither you nor the Association will lose anything in the way of the necessity for your continuing your Race and National service—the use of the word 'Colored' throughout the coming years.

"If you wish to mollify public sentiment and raise the status of the Afro-Americans in the eyes of the world you will henceforth speak of them and popularize the use of cognomens for them that will carry the concept that they are human beings and citizens."

We ourselves should set the example to our friends in this vital respect.

"THE NEGRO."

Why can it be found? That's the question. Did God apply this appellation to the colored man, commonly called "Negro"? That is the question. Can he be found in the writings of any of the prophets? Then who named him? The white man. If you call a white man a "Negro" you are liable to criminal prosecution or a suit for damages.

A prominent United States attorney, subsequently made judge of one of our courts, stated some time ago that it was libelous to say that a white man was a "Negro." Some few years ago a colored man informed a prosecuting officer that he was not a "Negro," and thereupon applied for a warrant for libel, but it turned out that this prosecuton had personal knowledge of the pedigree and nationality of this individual; hence he was refused a warrant.

Colored men who have written books, pamphlets, etc., use the term in their books and writings and endeavor to make a defense of this individual on the ground that he is a "Negro." Among these writers are Prof. Kelly Miller, Dr. DuBois, Prof. Carter Woodson and other well-known colored writers.

If it is libelous to call a white man a "Negro," why will colored writers allow themselves to be called "Negroes" and apply the term to themselves? If Irish, German, Dutch, Austrian or any other nationality, except the colored man, apply this term to a white man or to themselves, it is not libelous, and neither are they subjected to criminal prosecution. If the term is odious to the white race, why will the representatives of the colored race perpetuate colored organizations under the term "Negro"?

The Bee has maintained that we are "colored Americans," and has given notice that it will not publish communications sent to it in which the term "Negro" is used; and it is hoped that all writers who may send us communications will heed this warning. If the term is objectionable to white people and libelous, colored Americans ought to have sense enough not to us it. The sensible colored American loves his race, but he doesn't want his race misnamed, or to adopt a name that is objectionable to other nationalities.

These so-called colored scholars, as they are characterized should revise their histories of the colored race and apply the prope and correct term. Prof. Kelly Miller, Dr. DuBois, and Prof. Carte Woodson, who have written histories of the colored race, shoulc call in their books and revise them. The word "Negro" from now on is eliminated from The Bee.

White Papers Use Small "N" for Negro and Fail Usually to put "Miss" or "Mrs," Before Names of Colored Women.

To the Editor:—

Sir: Kindly permit me to add a word in condemning the baneful practice of the white editors of this city in refusing to capitalize the racial word Negro, while capitalizing the other four races, and the discourtesy of these newspapers in omitting Miss or Mrs. in their news items—as in the case of Miss Ida Cummings. I heartily commend you for what you have done and are doing to have these peculiar wrongs righted.

It seems that some white Americans would rather lose their souls(?) than accord to Colored people the normal decency due them. It is deplorable when one becomes such a slave to prejudice that, because of it, he studiously insults another race. One of the distinctive marks of a true man or woman the unmistakable sign of a Christlike character —is neighborly consideration for the feelings of others Whoever is lacking in this moral principle is not a gentleman or lady, whatever else may be that individual's culture(?)

As an oppressed people, it is our two-fold task to realize our own capacity and to civilize the ruling race to the true comprehension as to the meaning of a developed mind, irrespective of that mind's race identity. We may not be able to do this in America, but it shall be done somewhere, at some time.

It has been said, "As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he". To this I would add that, as a man thinketh not in his heart, so he is not. Neglecting to think, or the inability to think is the cause of many thoughtless acts or deeds that are amiss.

In America we are jimcrowed small-n'd and otherwise insulted, but we know in our hearts that we are worthy of better treatment. What one merits is of the first importance, because this is the obligation of others to him. As a race, we must be worthy of life's best; surely, God will do the rest.

"Murder will out". This is just another way of saying that evil, ultimately, defeats itself.

LUCIAN B. WATKINS

Says Negroes Use Term "Nigger"

The Post

A prominent white citizen met a representative of The News on the street one day last week and addressed him thusly: "I notice The News takes to task Prof. Reynolds for the use of the term 'nigger.' I have heard such a term applied to members of your race by more Negroes themselves than I have by white people."

"The fact as outlined by this gentleman was so thoroughly according to what we actually knew, that we were bereft of words to answer him for a minute," said the News representative. "Too often some blatant sycophant, member of the race will be in attendance at a ball game or be in some large gathering and with all the ignorance of the savage of the West coast of Africa, he will yell out some senseless expression with the use of the term 'nigger.' It is as true as the sun rises, that unless the Negro learns to respect himself more, he can't expect others to do so. The News would like to pay the fines of several iron-fisted individuals who would land a blow against the ivory of these sycophants who are so thoughtless as to persist in the use of the term 'nigger.'"

The Editorial

oted in the Baltimore SUN of t Saturday:

"The names of the new members of the War Memorial Committee appointed by the Mayor are: Mrs. Amelia Jones, Mrs. Calvin Gabriel, (both white) etc. etc. and at the end Ida R. Cummings.

The Baltimore American in reporting the same appointments printed Miss Ida R. Cummings.

Last week the AFRO-AMERICAN wrote letters to each of the three dailies in the city asking them if it was their policy not t use the title Miss and Mrs. before names of colored women, and if this was their policy, why? So far no answers have been received.

THE WORD COLORED AND WORD NEGRO.

Wm. C. Cheers, Glen Allen Fa Murfreesboro.

Why is the word Negro so det by the Negro himself? Is it not word the name of a race? Do not rank then among the names? Is it not proper? To sure it is. There are given in tory and geography names of five tinct races, the Caucasin, the M the Mongolan, the Negro and Indian. The white, the brown, yellow and the "Browns." Why t detest the word Negro? It is a not thing to be a Negro (not nigger, Should the name be detested? Sure not, but we admit that the name has been painted ,we admit that the name has been transposed from that high pitch Negro to the octave Nigger, which has discorded and poisened the minds of the Negro to the extent that when he hears the word he thinks of nigger, (especially when a white man sounds the note) and immediately his anger is kindled. But now that intelligence among Negroes is gaining ground; now that he is proving to the world that he is a fac-

tor in civilization, he should no longer feel hims lf hurt when spoken of as Negro, and if he finds a member of any race using the name to cast a dark shadow of molestation upon the Negro, let him look upon that man or woman as a weakling deservant of pity rather than censure. The Negro ought to realize himself a rising race, and ought to be proud of it. No race in the world could have endured what the Negro has and is enduring, and yet possess enough tact to struggle on under adverse circumstances, as he has and is undergoing. If the white man had had to suffer at the hands of the Negro as the Negro has and is suffering under the white man, he would have committed suicide long years ago. Is there a race under the sun who is equivalent to the Negro in this? NO NOT ONE. The Negro ought to be proud because he can recall his beginning and note the old and new marks of epochical strides, and while he realizes that he has a long ways to go, he also knows by past and present experience that he is going—so he forgets the steps already trod and wins the wealth for days. Under persecution let him go on, under pevils let him go on. To the call to colors let him go on; to tax paying let him go on; to all things for good to all men, let him go on. When they call him "nigger" let him pity the weakling and go on;—for only weak men will molest men.

Go on! Go on!! Go on!!!

QUIT SAYING NEGRO, CALL THEM COLORED OR BLACKS

Judge Guy Calls Halt to Members of His Own Race

TOPEKA KAN CAPITAL
APRIL 6, 1920

Says They Are to Blame as Much as Whites—No Such Thing as Social Equality.

To the Editor of The Daily Capital.

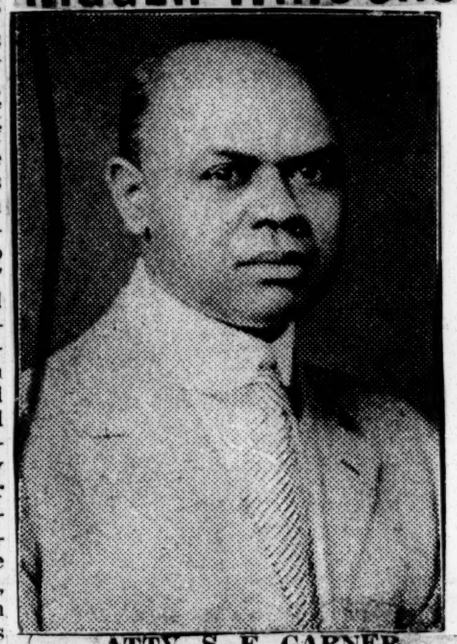
From facts disclosed at the Hill extradition proceedings before Governor Allen, a few days ago, I am more and more convinced that the greatest impediment to inter-racial adjustment is, that the colored people are called "Negroes." And of this crime, such use of the word, the colored people are equally as guilty as the white people. And I may say, that the more intelligent class of colored people are more so, than the same class of white people. The latter class very politely say "colored people." "Your race." "Your people." While the majority, and more intelligent class of colored people, use the word "Negro." And why, I am at a loss to know. Why do they oppose segregation, and then segregate with tongue and pen? Not physical segregation, it is true, but worse. Mental segregation is more damaging by far, than physical segregation. Colored people of culture and distinction, race benefactors, persist in the use of the word "Negro," regardless of the fact, that by so doing, the race is taken out of the family of peoples, and classed somewhere as "Negroes." Not people, but "Negroes," is the impression received on the human mind. And with it goes inferiority. He is a "Negro." Not a person, but a "Negro." She is a "Negress." These terms can convey to the intelligent mind but one thing, that of inferiority. With the affix of "ess," the mind is carried to animals of the lower order. If, in speaking of the male, it is proper to say "Negro," it is equally as proper to say "Negress," in speaking of the female. Neither is correct. The colored people hail from no land known by the name of "Negro." And therefore when the term is applied to a race of people, it has no legitimate origin. If as to color, distinction is to be made, let that distinction be such as conveys to the human mind that you mean a person. Colored people, or black people, as distinguished from white people, is to my mind, very appropriate. In either case, "people," following the descriptive word, carries to the mind, a person. A human being. One of the body politic. And when so looked upon, by this nation, race segregation, foolish distinction, and abuse, will become less pronounced, if not entirely extinct. But as we are called, and continue to call ourselves "Negroes," the consideration due all American citizens, will not be accorded us. By such denomination, we class ourselves, out. The white press of this country is not free from an injustice in this particular. If a crime is committed by a colored man, it mentions it as "John Doe, a Negro," etc., etc. The complexion of the criminal, neither adds to, or takes from the offense. I can see no reason for giving it. It does, however, prejudice the mind against colored people, since colored people are called "Negroes." For years, I have felt, and repeatedly have I had occasion to remark, that the term "Negro," carried the object too far from the human family. Too distinct, too separate from the peoples of the earth. And in this, I have no allusion to that thing called "social equality." There is no such animal, roaming the forest as social equality. General social equality, never was, is not now, nor never will be with any race. It is a personal matter. We choose our likes, and eschew our dislikes. With some colored persons, as well as some white persons, you may not feel at ease. While on the other hand, with some white person as well as some colored, you may feel at ease. The social question is not subject to legislation. Not so with civil rights, which can, and should be regulated by acts of legislation.

It became perfectly apparent, during the Hill examination, that by a certain class of people, the colored people are not considered as being anything but "Niggers," and looked upon as animals of a very low order. Thus treated, till colored people themselves, become to feel that they are "Niggers." There is still much in a name.

JAMES H. GUY.

Topeka, Kan., April 4, 1920.

RESENTS THE WORD 'NIGGER' WINS CASE



ATTY. S. E. GARNER
Who cleared Cornelius Verges of murder charge in Judge Hall's Court, Division No. 11, last week.

One of the cases which attracted unusual attention in the Criminal Division of the Circuit Court of this city last week, was that of the State of Missouri versus Cornelius Verges, wherein the defendant was charged with murder. The charge grew out of the killing of Clarence Green by Verges, at 2218 Morgan street, last August.

When the case was called for trial a few days ago, Atty. S. E. Garner, of the law firm of Vaughn & Garner, announced he was ready, which seemed a suprise to the attorneys for the prosecution. Relatives of the murdered man employed two special counsellors to assist the State in the prosecution of the case. After a few clashes the case went to trial on its merits. In his opening address to the jury, Attorney Garner made a strong plea for his client which seemed to impress the jury very much.

One of the attorneys employed by the relatives of Green, who was from Tennessee, in cross examining a woman witness, referred to her as a "nigger woman," whereupon Mr. Garner sprang to his feet and objected to such remarks. Judge Hall sustained the objection, and said that the Courts in Missouri respected Colored people and accorded to them the same respect and protection as it did to other people. The attorney from Tennessee who made the remarks said that he was a "gentleman from Tennessee—from the South," and that the Colored people in Tennessee liked to be called "niggers." To that the Court replied that the colored people of Missouri did not like to be called "Niggers." At that the counsel for the defense said, "Yes, the Colored people do object to being called 'niggers' for anybody can be a 'nigger!'" With this remark, the incident closed, and the case proceeded. After hearing the evidence and arguments by the attorneys for both sides, the jury retired and returned a verdict in fifteen minutes of not guilty.

Attaches of the court and many spectators who attended the trial were seen offering congratulations to Mr. Garner for his manly fight in the case, while the attorney from Tennessee was quite disappointed to find himself in a court where the rights of Colored people are respected.

Racial Consciousness — 1920

Nomenclature.

MISNOMERS OF NEGROES.

There are many Negroes in this country with German and Dutch and English names who could hardly recognize their African tribal patronymics, and could not if called upon to do so give a straight-forward satisfactory explanation of the origin of the names they now bear. The Negroes are the descendants of that little band of Africans who were brought to these shores in 1620 and earlier by slave catchers and made slaves for the white man. The Ekundayos, the Mensagans, the Abiamarias, the Mololas, the Agbebis, are all good African surnames which went out of fashion as soon as the African was brought to these shores and were supplanted by a crop of Dutch, German, English and Scotch names. Now we have in this state numbers of black and saddle colored citizens who are struggling through life with such names as Van Schaick, Van Alstyne, Van Quanback, Van Vrankren, Van Strancer and the entire gaant of Vans from A to Z, not one of whom ever had a Dutch or German or English or Scotch ancestor in the regular way. Funny, isn't it? These Europeans names have each their significance and meaning just as Chinese, Japanese, and African names. Thus Vanderpool means from the pool or marsh; Vanzandt, a village in Holland—literally from the sands; Van Vranken—one from France, etc. But all these ebony and saddle colored Vans are of African descent, even those born in European countries, and they show it in their physiognomies. These surnames are not African and never were. They are Holland Dutch, English and Scotch names of the most pronounced character and the incongruity is all the more apparent when we see them hitched to people who are not Europans but Africans. The early Dutch settlers of Albany and adjacent cities of this state owned many black slaves in the old days and gave their names to their black servitors for their own convenience. These Dutchmen could not pronounce the African names so they used names that they could pronounce, and this accounts for so many dusky Vans in the state of New York. Fennimore Cooper's charming stories are full of interest and instruction and none of them throw more light on the manners, customs and habits of the early Dutch settlers of Albany and points adjacent than "Satan Toe." Here we find delightful word pictures of the Dutch Holland patroons or constables, and a lenghty account of the Kinster holidays and how they were celebrated by master and man with dancing and merrymaking for a week at a time. These black African slaves metamorphosed for the time being in to Holland Dutchmen were in the last analysis only Africans in exile.

The base of our African-Holland Dutch stock took root when the Holland Dutch took parts of New York. The names were not acquired by intermarriage but by gift of the owners of this human live stock who could not twist their tongues African fashion to pronounce their African names. In other states these blacks were called Pompey, Caeser, Chloe, Mum Betty, and such other names, real or fanciful as the owner saw fit to bestow on his slaves. There were no real surnames in slavery North or South, only such as the blacks appropriated and applied to themselves because it was the custom. Once I asked one of these Dutch "Vans" of the African persuasion to tell me how he got his name. He began by saying that his great grandparents were Manatoe Indians, that his grandmother was a queen, and that she married a Holland Dutchman of great wealth, etc., ad nauseum, all of which I swallowed at one gulp, though for the life of me, I could not understand why, if his grandparents were Indians and Dutch there was so much kink in his hair and so much of Africa in his countenance.

I set him down as a romancer. The fact of the matter is these people are adulterated and unadulterated Africans in all except their Holland Dutch, English and Scottish names, though many of them religiously believe that they were made of a different kind of dust from that of ordinary Negroes who went by the common names of Jones, which is Welsh; Smith, which is English, and Carter or Kyarter, which is Scotch, and also names which were bestowed by gift, by their white masters. There are few if any Negroes who can trace their ancestry in an unbroken line for one hundred years without running up against a snag. What makes me smile is the airs these exclusives give themselves when they have the prefix Van, Le, De or La before their surnames. The old Count D'Artois has a number of African namesakes, some were in Connecticut and scattered around the country who cannot cross the saltpond to establish their claim to the title, because the claim does not appear to be regular. We are most unfortunate in that we are to a great extent a nameless race. Our names are European not AFRICAN. The same condition as to our racial nomenclature exists in the West Indian Islands. The West Indian Negroes, like those of the United States, are the descendants of Africans, who were brought to these islands by Sir John Hawkins and other slave catchers, and were made slaves by British Colonial planters whose names they took. African names are not fashionable among the descendants of Africa either in America or the West Indies, but in Africa Africans are constantly dropping their English names and legally assuming their African names. When we speak of Shakespeare or Browning or Chancer o Keats our mind at once reverts to England, the land that gave then birth so, too, of Daniel O'Connell or Edmund Burke; we have visions of Ireland, the home of the Shamrock, the Sinn Feiner and the Blarney Stone. But we have Burkes, O'Connells, Byrons, O'Haras and Cromwells who are neither English nor Irish, but just plain Africans, who have nothing in common with England or Ireland, but their names. Soon after the war of Rebellion, now referred to in some quarters as the war between the States, or the Civil War, there came to the city of Washington large numbers of colored people who had De and Le and La prefixed to their patronymics. Virginia supplied the Dangerfields and Kycarters of Kyarterville; Georgia the Colberts, Hills, Oglethropes, Crawfords and DeKalbs; Maryland sent a few Bonapartes, Gormans, Carrolls, Wallises and Whytes, all of whom were black or colored, others states made similar contributions to Washington's Negro population, whose family names were the family names of another entirely distinct branch of the human family, all white. What we want in this country is some typical African surnames for people of African origin or descent, most of us are now using aliases and some of us do not know who we are or where our genoalogical tree is planted. If St. Peter is keeping a record of our doings down here, he has most certainly got all the names down wrong except those in Africa.

BRUCE GRIT.

Racial Consciousness – 1920
Segregation and Jim Crowism.

Community Sub-Committees Will Have White Heads

The Journal & Guide 2-21-20

The Committee Informs Chairman Truxton They Prefer White Directors

A PECULIAR SITUATION

In an editorial on "Norfolk Community Service," in the Journal and Guide, of February 7th, it was suggested that in the city's plan of organization for conducting the reorganized colored department more effective work could be done if the heads of the various sub-committees were colored. The paper's reasons for taking this position were stated as follows:

"Let it be understood that the Journal and Guide is voicing no objection to these sub-committee chairmen because they are not of our race. It is a splendid thing and a very hopeful sign when such able and distinguished citizens as Miss Hobbs, Dr. Covington, Dr. Leigh, Capt. Tunstall and Dr. Schenck manifest a desire and willingness to take up this work. The objections are upon the grounds that colored workers are better fitted by experience, brotherly ties, temperament and knowledge of the work thta is to be done than the white chairmen. Some may think that this question is debatable, but we do not. The war work of colored men and women in the recreation centers, the camps, the community and hostess houses, in Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. work on the home field and in the war zone is sufficient and everlasting proof that they know how to do this work and can do it better than people of another race."

On Monday evening, General Chairman Truxtun held a conference with his various sub-committee chairmen and the colored house committee of the Liberty Club, when the Journal and Guide article was up for discussion. At this conference Chairman Truxton asked Dr. A. L. Paey, of tne house committee, if he thought the best interests of the Community Service could be served if the chairman of the sub-committees were colored instead of white, to which Dr. Paey replied: "No sir, the present form of organization is best. We would not have it otherwise. We think it such an excellent service and sacrifice that you worthy white people are making for us that we would not have it changed." He also stated that he did not think the work would succeed under colored chairmen.

Prof. D. G. Jacox, another member of the committe,e was called upon and said: "I think it best for it to remain as it is, for I remember when Huntersville was admitted into the city we had a Huntersville Improvement League with colored officers, and they did not accomplish anything. We want this to be a success and we feel that it can only succeed by having you good white people as chairmen."

Mr. C. A. Palmer, another member of the colored committee, substantiated what Dr. Paey and Prof. Jacox had said.

The question of salaries came up. The former employees were receiving $1100.00 per month. The house committee has reduced all salaries so that they will be only $550.00 per month. Of course that means new employees. Major Truxton asked Dr. Paey if he felt that he could keep the place up to standard and efficiency on those salaries. Dr. Paey said: "Oh yes, yes sir." Then the Major asked the Doctor what was his plan for entertainment and recreation of the patrons of the club. The Doctor said: "We plan to cut out the dancing, to cover up the pool tables and to put in a barber chair and bootblack stand."

"Well, Doctor, what arrangements have you made to interest the people in the club?" asked Major Truxton. "Why, we have spoken to all the longshoremen, and feel assured that they will make the club their headquarters. We will have a bill board there and post the arrival of the ships and how many men are needed to load or unload it."

It appears from Dr. Paey's outline that the Liberty Club as reorganized will be operated after the fashion of the "Senate," a longshoremen's rendezvous, run by Jack Lipshin on Church street, except that in the "Senate" there are pool tables.

"CRAPS" FOR THE "MOVIES"

Four well-known Negroes of Rock Hill, S. C., are reported to have operated a game of craps recently for the benefit of a moving picture concern. The affair was staged in the rear of the police station and seemingly had the sanction of the authorities. The proceeding moved the Rock Hill *Messenger* to the following comment:

The New York Age 7-22-1920

It is a pity that the officials permitted such a display of crap shooters' talent for public exhibition from Rock Hill, even for amusement, since it can advertise no good for the city, while on the other hand it will do much harm. On behalf of the best colored people of Rock Hill, the *Messenger* registers its protest against this mockery of good citizenship, and shall endeavor, so far as possible to have the world to understand wherever this picture is shown that there are thousands of upright men and women of the race here who neither condone nor wink at this travesty upon Negro citizenship in Rock Hill.

Crap shooting has long since ceased to be a distinctively Negro diversion, if it ever really deserved that distinction. It has long been an every day sight in the big cities to see groups of white longshoremen, bootblacks or newsboys throwing the ivory cubes. As a colored editor in Kentucky put it some time ago, the whites have annexed "craps" to their program with the same avidity as they have taken "jazz" and the "shimmy."

SEEING THE ONE BIG PROBLEM

The Chicago Defender 6-26-1920

Five years have passed since Ernest Lissauer's "Hymn of Hate" expressive of the feeling of Germany against England was sent broadcast thruout the German Fatherland. Comparable in spirit, but not in form is the poem **"Pray for Your Enemies"** written by Theodore Henry Shakelford, and reproduced in a new volume published by Professor Robert T. Kerlin, and soon to come from the press.

The poem in its entirety is reproduced below:

PRAY FOR YOUR ENEMIES

'Tis commanded in the Scriptures
That we pray for our foes,
Even those who heap upon us
Our burdens and our woes.
I believe in this commandment,
And shall tane it unto me,
And for those who lynch the Negro
This my daily prayer shall be:

May their days be "days of sorrow"
And their home the house of death,
And may dread and terror seize them
With the drawing of each breath
May the pains their victims suffered—
Multiplied ten thousand fold—
Rend their very souls asunder
Till their errors they behold.

May their children share the burdens
Of the wrongs which they have done;
May the aftermath to follow
Spare not daughter neither son.
May their children's children curse them
Whom they should have blessed for birth
Had their place in life been other
Than the "vilest scum of earth."

May their wells of water fail them,
And their cattle be destroyed.
May they "have no pleasure in them,"
Nor the sins they once enjoyed,
May the flood, the plague and famine,
Hedge them in on every hand,
Till their petrifying corpses
Shall pollute the very land.

And may those who hold high places
And their duty fail to do,
Be included with the guilty
When the punishment is due.
May the whole world turn against them
Who defend a lyncher's name.
May they be cut off from mercy
While they revel in their shame

May the wrath of God burst o'er them,
Blast, and blight each foul life
Till they reap the ripened harvest
Of their hellishness and strife.
Yea, unless they shall repent then
May the bitterest of ends
Rest on them and theirs forever.
On the lynchers and their friends.

—Theodore Henry Shackleford

"This" declares Mr. K[illegible] the authentic voice of millions of black folk.

"There is the prophetic crying aloud and sparing not. The Negro poet alone in America today seems red-blooded, he alone has a message, and is the spokesman of a people and a cause. It would be folly added to folly for the ruling race to let that voice go unheeded. For once that a cause gets into song its triumph belongs to time, to the brief years and months. It is consecrated, it is made glorious, it is weaponed to invincibilty. Never did the poets of freedom fail, never did the prophets of liberty suffer in vain."

Perhaps the vision and clear expression of patriots like Professor Kerlin may help America to recognie that her biggest problem is not Prohibition or the repeal of the Volstead act, Woman's Suffrage; the League of Nations, the question of recognizing Irish Freedom, accepting the mandate over Armenia or amending the Plumb Plan of operating the railroads—all of these are insignificant beside one big problem of effecting a working agreement between the races.

THE "JIM CROWS"

Louisville News 9/18/20

"Where are those people going?"
Said Mary to her proud Aunt Sally,
"Why," said Auntie, her disgust plainly showing,
"They are going to the theater, via the alley."

"What," said the girl with great silk purse
"Those people all dressed in those swell clothes?"
"That's nothing," said Auntie, with contempt in her eyes
They are only a bunch of jim crow negroes."

"We areas good as you," that's what they say,
But that's not true, goodness knows
For as long as they go in the theater back way
They are only a bunch of stupid jim crows.

WHITE OFFICIALS AT FOOT-BALL GAMES

The Ohio-American 10-29-20

White officials refereed the Morgan-Lincoln football game at Lincoln last Saturday. Both men were inexperienced, and frequently consulted the colored head-linesman as to the rules and penalties of the games. It is about time, that colored athletic teams picked referees from among their own group.

Right here in Baltimore are Mr. Charles Pindenhughes, former colored all American fullback, Dr. Ralph Young, former center and star of Howard's football team, and Dr. J. C. Carper, player of note on the championship team of Union University in Richmond. These are just a few of the competent officials available for any subsequent scholastic or collegiate football games this year.

When white officials are employed, the impression is made that no efficient colored athletes are available, or that, their decisions would not be acceptable. Neither of these is correct, and public schools and colleges least of all can afford to put out a false impression.

MORRIS DEMANDS RIGHTS FOR RACE

Brilliant Chicago Attorney Gains Great Victory at Springfield

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., July 9.—The constitutional convention after a spirited fight lasting almost the entire afternoon, adopted the proposal presented by Attorney Edward H. Morris, which, in effect, prohibited the legislature from enacting future laws of a discrimatory nature along racial lines. Judge Morris delivered a masterly address, holding the delegates spellbound, and the following section was then adopted:

Edward Morris

"The laws of the state shall be applicable alike to all citizens, without regard to race or color, and no citizen shal be prohibited from doing anything that any other person may do because of or by reason of such citizen's color or race."

Bishop Carey Absent

Judge Morris brought in the minority report to the bill of rights in which he demanded the absolute equality before the law. During his discussion of the question he received marked attention and was accorded an unusual ovation. Fortunate for us Judge Morris who, in common with other delegates, was elected by the people to serve in that body, has faithfully obeyed the mandates of the people. Unfortunately Bishop Carey, who was charged by the people with the same responsibility, had other duties that claimed his attention.

HAVE WE THE RIGHT TO CRITICISE "JIM CROW NEGROES"?

Louisville News 9/11/20

We have high ideals of the functions of a Race newspaper. We watch carefully its scope and limitations in an honest endeavor not to cross the line between community interests and personalities. So careful have we been in this regard that often we have remained silent when we should have spoken out, rather than be accused of indulging our personal and private dislikes of an individual.

In our issue of two weeks ago we turned the light of publicity on the "Jim Crow Negro." The "Jim Crow Negro" is that individual of color who voluntarily pays his money to be humiliated and segregated in places of amusement or in stores of merchandise.

Many self-respecting Colored men and women complimented us on the editorial and urged us to continue the fight for a boycott of those places and the ridicule of that type of person. On the other hand we received one letter protesting that people had a right to go where they pleased and to accept whatever accommodations they pleased.

We grant they have that right and we have come to the conclusion that it is not only our right to criticise them but it is a duty as well.

Of the 50,000 Colored people in this city less than 5,000, or ten per cent., patronize the alley-gallery theaters, such as the Gayety and Keith's and Mary Anderson.

Shall we then sit supinely by and allow that ten per cent. to bring ridicule and disrespect upon the rest of us?

The two greatest things in the world are the love and respect of one's fellow. For RESPECT men and nations have fought and died. And the only generator of RESPECT in others is RESPECT for oneself. At the very bottom forming the very basis for all the injustices we, as a race, have to bear is the fact that we are the obpect of the disrespect and contempt of our white neighbors. The fact that we were slaves—willing slaves since we rebelled not, nor chose death to slavery—for 300 years earned for the Race a heavy cloak of disrespect and contempt that neitherthe Emancipation Proclamation nor the War Amendments could dispel. And despite "our unprecedented and unparalleled progress" we have failed to win the white man's respect because of our cowardice, our lack of unity and our continual begging.

It is a foolish American habit to judge all Colored people alike. The average white man refuses to see or acknowledge that there are Colored Americans of culture and refinement and intelligence. He professes to believe there is no difference between a college trained, well-bred Colored man and some unfortunate, criminally inclined poor devil who has gone down instead of up.

All this being true it behooves all classes of Colored people who make any pretense to intelligence to so live and conduct themselves as to demand and win respect for the Race. And that can not be done by patronizing stores where the least of our women may be insulted nor by going up in the galleries of rank "Jim Crow" theaters.

There is no show in the worl dso much worth while that a Colored man or woman should go up the dirty, filthy alley in the rear of the Gayety to see it. There is no picture made or ever can be made worth any Colored man or woman's climbing up the steep flights of stairs at the Strand and Mary Anderson and Keith's to see. And no Colored man or woman with a modicum of self-respect will do either. But as the writer of the letter says they have a right to do it. They have a right to do that, but they have no right to bring the rest of the Race into disrepute by making it appear we are all devoid of self-respect and that we are all "Jim Crow Negroes."

These are the "good-as-any-body-people," who think they can be little and low and degraded and then pose as the equal of self-respecting people.

Not the least of the burdens we have to bear is the "Jim Crow Negro." Not the least of the causes for the disrespect the Race has to meet is this same "Jim Crow Negro."

We say he is a plague, a scourge, a disgrace, a libel and should be scorned and ignored.

SEGREGATION AND SOCIAL EQUALITY OUR DANGER

3-16-20

Races and nations often make fetiches out of certain words. These words acquire a certain meaning and whenever they can be applied to anything that thing is either worshiped or it is hated, not always on account of the intrinsic value of the thing, but merely because of the name. The word "Social Equality" is a word which can frighten the Southern white people at any time. A thing may be perfectly legal, perfectly fair, perfectly human, perfectly right, perfectly moral, but if someone says it is social equality it at once puts the Southerner on his guard and indeed makes him antagonistic to it. He at once begins to fight it.

The whole range of political and civic activity, so far as the relation of Negroes and whites of the South is concerned, is controlled by this word "Social Eqqality." Negroes are not permitted their right to live on certain streets, to ride in street cars, to eat in restaurants, not even to sit in public parks, because some one raises the cry of "Social Equality." Negroes are not permitted to vote because some one says it is "Social Equality." They are not even permitted to sit in the church of God and partake of the "blessed body and blood" of our crucified Saviour because some one says to do that with white people is "Social Equality," and thus a great many unfair and ridiculous things are done by otherwise well-meaning and intelligent white people merely because they are afraid of giving their consent to "Social Equality."

Christian Recorder

The demagogues of the South have used this term "Social Equality" to put themselves into office and to keep good men out of office. They have hoodwinked the good white people of the South for many, many years because they have raised the cry of "Social Equality" at any advance that the colored man should make. If a colored man should bup an automobile, or a fine house, or a good horse, in some places there would be those who would say that is "Social Equality" and immediately the mass of white people would be put against him. We have even heard where the ladies of the colored race who wore silk skirts were objected to because someone ity."fimha yv quitlyn, ...F busp... places 4 123123 12389 12345 .... said it was "Social Equailty," that they wanted to wear clothes like white people and to be in the same class with white people, and Vardaman, in his speeches in Mississippi actually said he would, if elected, stop that sort of "Social Equality."

Every Negro knows how ridiculous this is. The foreigner knows how ridiculous this is. This illogical, irreligious, uncivilized cry of "Social Equality"—social equality, which none take time to define, but which are afraid of, as they are afraid of the devil himself.

But the colored man is almost in the same place. There are those who can raise the cry of "Segregation" or "Jim Crowism" and at once every Negro is put on his guard and led to oppose some times the things which are for ther best interest. We are entirely too sensitive on Jim Crowism. We cry "Jim Crowism" just as the white man does social equality. Every time the colored man is put aside it is not to be "Jim Crowed." There are times when colored people ought to seek to be together. The African Methodist Episcopal Church is not a Jim Crow church. If the Negroes get together to start a bank, they are not starting a Jim Crow bank. If they get together to start any sort of business is not a Jim Crow business. In fact, they have to get together if they are going to get the advantage of their best development and accomplish their greatest progress. Yet there are those who want to oppose the bank, who will oppose the Church, and oppose the business in which the Negroes are in, immediately say you are Jim Crowing yourself by getting togehter, and there are Negroes silly enough to believe them sufficiently to keep out.

If the Negroes are offered any offices in the Government higher than they have ever had before and by which they are able to do things which they were never able to do before, there are other Negroes and some white people who will say that it is Jim Crowism, and a great number of them will be fighting it. We must not let ourselves be frightened at this spectre of Jim Crowism. It is just as ridiculous for us as social equality in the South among the white people. Let no unscrupulous politician lead us astry.

If the white people should insist upon a definition of social equality every time the cry is raised they would be saved from many a foolish and unjust action. The same with the Negroes.

What is "Jim Crowism"? As we understand it, it is when the dominant group of white people put the Negroes aside, against their (the Negroes') will, and against the law, force them to pay for privileges they are not permitted to enjoy, and endeavor to humiliate them into acknowledging their own inferiority.

It is Jim Crowism if the white people of Philadelphia should say that all Negroes must buy from certain stores. It is not Jim Crowism but a sign of progress if all the Negroes band themselves together to buy at certain stores for mutual advantages. It is Jim Crowism if the white church or theatre forces all Negroes in the gallery; it is not Jim Crowism if Negroes have their own churches and some of them prefer the gallery. When Negroes make a fight for representation in Congress, Councils, or other public office, they are not asking for Jim Crowism. When we fight for control of a police station, a post office sub-station, a fire station, a community center in neighborhoods where we are a majority, or for representation in the state legislature or Board of Education, they are not advocating Jim Crowism but progress.

THE DUMPING GROUND

8-28-20

OF THE THIRTY-FIVE WARDS IN CHICAGO, the Second easily bears the most unsavory reputation. The reason for this is it has been made the dumping ground of many of the evils that beset a large city. Some years ago, when the "red light" district, which flourished just on the outskirts of this section, was put out of commission through the united efforts of the decent, self-respecting element, these underworld creatures compelled to live somwhere, sought haven in the "black belt."

Racial Consciousness — 1920.
Segregation and Jim Crowism.

Here they believed they would be immune from the police, and their belief was justified, as the intervening years of undisturbed ribaldry amply proves.

PROTESTS, LONG AND LOUD, have repeatedly been made to the department of justice by indignant citizens, but to no avail. Added to the houses of ill repute that infest this section are pool and gambling dens, buffet flats and cabarets. Everything is running wide open, everything goes, and every crook, thief, gambler, scarlet woman and would-be sport spends one or more nights in revelry in this police-forsaken spot. The question naturally arises, if the authorities can stop such orgies in other sections effectually, why not here? Unquestionably it can be done, if the word is given and backed up with honest intentions. But that hint of pull and graft constantly bobs up and offers the sought-for reason for the lack of a general clean-up.

WE ARE TIRED OF BEING THE GOAT of having our homes desecrated by the proximity of the evils referred to. Somebody is responsible for these things, and that somebody had better begin immediately to put the Second ward in order. Our fight on this subject has brought hundreds of congratulatory letters from residents of this pest-stricken area with offers of aid from nearly every social, political, fraternal and religious organization. With this vast army of workers, aided and abetted by our ward committeeman and our two aldermen, there is every reason to believe we will get speedy relief. A letter addressed to the Second Ward House Cleaning Committee, care of this paper, setting forth the facts about any evil coming directly under your notice, will aid the committee materially in its effort to give the Second ward a clean bill of sale.

SEGREGATION A LA GREEK.

Facing Indiana Avenue near Thirty-first Street is an establishment called the Cozy Lunch, operated by a Greek. It is a small hole in the wall, narrow, dark, and patronized by Negroes to the point of practically excluding all other persons.

Facing Thirty-first Street near Indiana Avenue is an institution called the Cozy Lunch, operated by a Greek. It is well fitted up and equipped with tables for adies, a large assortment of deliup and equipped with tables for ladies, a large assortment of delipractically excluding all others. Both places are served by the same kitchen and operated under the same management. A Negro in any degree particular about appearances around him must not go into the Thirty-first Street restaurant. It is for white patrons. If he does, he must undergo the discourtesies and slights common to all places that do not want his trade. A place has been provided for him. In other words, these sons of Greece have stepped into the heart of the district where practically all of Chicago's Negroes live and established segregation. And yet loud-mouthed Negroes go about pulling their hair and ranting about the city government's wanting to segregate them in the schools while they and their friends encourage the policy by dealing with those who arrogantly flaunt it in violation of existing laws and by mere personal choice. These Greeks insult all self-respecting Negroes.

THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN

Ever since Mr. Kipling's famous poem was given to the world, its readers, and they are legion, have looked upon the white man's burden as the effort of the Caucasian to support the other races in their struggle for progress. To lead them out of their Egyptian night, and, without any expactation of any reward, to guard those races from themselves, and to lead them toward the light. Now, as a matter of fact, some of the whitest men who have ever lived have not been of the Caucasian race. A knowledge of Principle, in other words, is not bounded by color, and the real white man's burden is carried by all those who have devoted themselves unselfishly, in any measure, to the service of humanity, a service summed up, long ago, by a man who was certainly not a Caucasian, in the well-known words, "O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"

It is this opportunity which lies before the whole world, today as always and evrybody who will acept it lifts this white man's burden, and places it upon his shoulders. It is a burden, it is true, which is likely to be its own reward.

EXCHANGES

Any Negro who is satisfied at the treatment that we as Negroes receive, should be carried before a lunacy commission and his brains examined in order to ascertain as to whether he is sane or not. As a man that blocks his own business is either knaive or dull of perception.—Birmingham (Ala.) Times-Plaindealer.

Fifty years and more of freedom and progress brings us to realize that we are not yet really free; a second Emancipation must be brought about if we would enjoy the freedom and respect accorded all other American citizens, we must make that freedom for ourselves, and place ourselves in position to DEMAND that respect.—The Louisville (Ky.) News.

Some questions that get uppermost in the discussions of the times and seem never to have any solution are absurd enough not to have had any beginning whatever. They are self-evident, for the most part. They spring out at nothing and fetch up at nothing.—Washington (D. C.) Eagle.

JIM CROW SELVES

Certain Class of "Human" Barnacles Need New Emancipation

Race prejudice and color hatred plays such an important part in present day affairs there is little wonder that at times the condition palls to the extent of becoming practically unbearable. The practices that are sent over by members of the "opposite" race who feature such things are sickening and tiresome, to say the least. But they are refreshing when compared with the practices of some of the members of our Race upon each other, and at times, upon themselves.

An Instance

Take the matter of "self-segregation," for instance. One of the most nauseating of these cases is the one which involves the attendance of members of our group who attend a certain church, which has several edifices in various parts of the city. This institution has no color line; race prejudice is banned by the ethics of its religion and all are made to feel welcome, regardless of race or complexion. When entering these places of advanced worship do the Irish, Scotch, English or any of the other nationalities find it necessary to "flock" together? Not by any means. Then why, in the name of all that's good and holy, do the members of our Race make a point to occupy seats adjacent to each other, giving an appearance to the uninitiated of being Jim Crowed, when such action is farthest from the minds of the heads of these institutions? The very fact that this condition is true shows that narrowness still plays a great part in the characters of a large percent of our group. If you are welcome in all parts of any public place, be it a church or otherwise, for the sake of your own self-respect, don't make yourself ridiculous and conspicuous by Jim Crowing yourself.

A Letter

A letter reached the Defender office some days ago. It was sent in from a place in Pennsylvania, one of the fairest states in the Union. It told of how a young man had secured accommodations in the finest hotel, dined without protest in the finest of the town's eating houses, in company with a member of the "other" race, who finally went into a barber shop run by one of our own people—the only kind of a shop in the town—and had been insultingly turned down by the proprietor, who not only refused to allow the young man to be shaved in the shop, but also informed his companion, who protested, that he "could get out, too, if you don't like it."

Barber Shops

Almost every town that you go into has a certain number of barber shops which cater to "white only." The barbers, from the boss on down, are of our group. If a member of the Race should presume to enter for accommodations he is informed that "we do not cater to Colored people," and he is refused service. What can these men who practice these things expect from the white people when they themselves encourage this rotten system by their own actions? We have a right to patronize any public place that pays a license or who displays any sign, etc., for the solocitation of public trade. As long as you are clean and orderly a refusal of your trade is illegal and should be resented as such. Remember this.

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KICKS NEGRO WOMAN OUT OF WHITE DOWNTOWN BANK

Insisted on Being Properly Addressed

VICE PRESIDENT'S ACTION UPHELD CASHIER HE ACTED WITHIN H[IS] RIGHTS

A Negro woman whose name we could not obtain, was severely handled Monday morning at one of the downtown banks because she insisted in being properly addressed by the clerk who was waiting on her.

It seems that the woman went to the bank, which, by the way, is said to be the Citizens and Southern Bank, largest banking institutions in the South, doing business in several cities, with the intention of either depositing or withdrawing money. When she presented her bank book to the clerk he addressed her by her first name, to which she objected. The clerk is said to have replied that that is the only way in which he ever addressed Negro women. After replying to this she started out, but returned and asked for her bank book. The clerk again addressed her in the manner to which she had objected and once more she informed him in no uncertain words that she was a regular customer of the bank and insisted on being treated with proper courtesy. The clerk became peeved at this remark and came from behind his cage and handled the woman roughly, finally pushing her out of the bank and is then said to have kicked her.

A prominent Negro man who was in the neighborhood heard of the affair and went to the bank where he reported the incident to the vice-president. It is said that it was suggested that the clerk who so insulted the colored woman should be handled for his actions whereupon it is said that the clerk was sent for and told by the official in the presence of the colored man that he acted absolutely within his rights. The Negro man is then said to have asked the official if he didn't think such action would hurt his business, to which he is said to have replied, "No, our Negroes know their place," further adding, it is said, that the Southern white man in general would think of addressing a woman by Miss or Mrs.

It is said that at this particular institution Negroes have on deposit several thousand dollars.

THE CREED OF A NEGRO SALESMAN.

I am a Negro; I believe in Negroes individually and as a racial group, and the sure reward the future holds for us.

I believe in the goods I am selling, in the company I am working with, and in my ability to get results.

I believe some one will sustain a very severe loss if I fail to do my work intelligently, accurately, promptly, carefully and I shall be the greatest loser. My job can be continued to be made attractive by punctuality, definite aim, and a high ideal of practical, unselfish service.

I believe in other salesmen. For their sake I should not accept low standard of pay, nor poor working conditions; I should do all in my power to maintain a high standard of loyalty for my employer. I should give him a cheerful smile, and lend a helping hand whenever and wherever possible.

I believe in my employer he is a human being just as I am. He likes to have things go smoothly and he deserves to have them so. I believe I should do all in my power to help him.

I believe in myself and in the power that is within me. I owe it to myself to be all that I can possibly be physically, mentally, materially, and spiritually. I owe it to myself to be just as attractive as possible in manner and appearance.

I believe in my home, and that I should be just as kind and courteous to the people in other homes as I am to those in my home.

I believe in my country which is alright at heart. When all of us understand the true meaning of the brotherhood of Man, this will be the best landi in all the world.

I believe in God, and in His infinite love for humanity; and sincerity, honest work, merry laughter, clean play, and unaffected kindness are all he asks of us.

I believe if I give to the world the best I have, the best will come back to me.

I believe in putting SERVICE above SELF, and he who serves best will profit most.

I believe the Golden Rule is the only rule of conduct that will bring true success in any line of business.

GEORGE W. BLOUNT.

Portsmouth, Va.

THE NEGRO'S OPPORTUNITY.

THE facts and figures given by Mr. Truman Hughes Talley in his article in The World's Work for December ought to cause the colored people of the country to reflect upon their financial possibilities. The article states that the Harlem Negroes own $100,000,000 worth of property and have $30,000,000 deposited in the savings banks. It also states that there are four millionaires, ten half millionaires and a score of persons worth $100,000 in the colored population of New York City.

Mr. Talley says that the American Negroes own more than 700,000 houses and 20,000,000 acres of farm land. There are 45,000 churches, with church property valued at $90,000,000. Negroes bought $225,000,000 worth of Liberty Bonds.

These facts and figures do not estimate what the Harlem Negro and the American Negro have earned, but what they have saved. Just consider what the Harlem Negroes could do if they wanted to. They could not only put up mills, factories, department stores and grocery stores, but could easily put money into Liberia to build roads and railroads, erect sawmills and factories, and develop her wonderful resources. And the industrial possibilities before the American Negroes are exhaustless. He can so utilize his surplus earnings that he could build up industries and enterprises which would give employment to tens of thousands of men and women of his own race.

It is well that so much of the Negroes' surplus earnings has been deposited in Liberty Bonds, in banks, and put into churches. But it would be advisable in the future to invest more money in profitable business enterprises.

Twelve years ago an effort was made to induce American Negroes to put $200,000 into ten square miles of land on the Gold Coast of Africa, which abounded in mahogany, ebony, palm oil, coffee, cocoa, kola and rubber and a little gold. Suppose that $200,000 had been raised, what would have happened? Just as four hundred West Africans became so prosperous that they could buy automobiles through the cocoa boom, and just as scores became so rich when cocoa went up in value from 400 to 600 per cent., that when they sold in for four, five and six times the amount they paid for it, until they could erect houses in European style, which cost 8,000 pounds sterling, or over $20,000 in American money, so these American Negroes would have likewise reaped a harvest through the rise in cocoa. The men who put in $1,000 or $2,000 would have gotten handsome dividends this year, and that $1,000 would probably now be worth $5,000, and that $2,000 would probably now be worth $10,000.

If the present financial prosperity of Accra and Secundee could have been foreseen twelve years ago, the needed $200,000 to develop the resources of ten square miles of land on the Gold Coast would easily have been raised. That is the way of the world. The man who takes a chance in a venture when the odds are in his favor is likely to have a sudden rise in his fortunes.

THE AMERICAN NEGRO.

A Summary of His Remarkable Progress and Present Condition.

In an address before the United States Senate last May, Senator Spencer, of Missouri, brought together a large amount of information concerning the Negroes in this country, information that should be in the possession of every American citizen. We give here the substance of it:

Our country contains about 12,000,000 Negroes—an essential and important part of our population.

Since they obtained their freedom from slavery they have acquired property worth more than $1,000,000,000.

They have acquired lands exceeding 21,000,000 acres—an area greater than the entire State of South Carolina—and they cultivate as much more. In fact, they either own or rent about two-thirds of the cultivated land of the South.

The Russian serfs during the first fifty years of their freedom accumulated about $36 apiece, an aggregate of about half a billion dollars. During the first fifty years of their freedom the American Negroes saved nearly double that sum, or $70 apiece, an aggregate of $700,000,000.

A large part of the savings of the Negro is in lands and houses. The census of 1910 shows that the Negroes then owned 506,590 homes—about half of them in the city and half of them farmhouses. Doubtless, now at least 600,000 homes are owned by Negroes.

Negroes are successful in business. They have established more than 50,000 prosperous business enterprises. They own 100 insurance companies. They own and conduct banks with a capitalization of nearly $2,000,000 and and annual business of $20,000,000.

In 1910 there were 29,727 Negro teachers. Three hundred counties are employing Negro industrial teachers. Today there are more than 40,000 Negro teachers presiding over schools in which 2,000,000 Negro children are enrolled.

As to church work, there are 34,962 Negro ministers, and out of their poverty the Negroes have put $68,000,000 into church buildings.

Negro physicians and surgeons numbered 3,400 in 1910; Negro dentists, 478; and there were 7,056 in other professions.

The Negro is not lacking in inventive power, and more than a thousand patents have been issued to him. He is not lacking in literary power, but edits and publishes 500 newspapers and other periodicals. He is patriotic. The Negroes gave $225,000,000 for Liberty Bonds and for war work activities. Two Negroes were the first soldiers of the American Army to be decorated for bravery during the World War, and four entire Negro regiments received the Croix de Guerre for heroism in action. In ad-

dition, about 400 individual Negroes received medals of honor for bravery. It is a most striking fact that 74.60 per cent of the Negroes examined for the draft were accepted, and only 69.71 per cent of the whites.

Altogether, the showing made by the American Negro is most creditable and encouraging. Money spent upon the education and development of this race is well spent, and much more of our money should be spent in this way than is now given.—The Christian Endeavor World, September 23, 1920.

AN ECONOMIC CONSCIOUSNESS

C. BENJ. CURLEY.

Most of the business men of the race are products of the school of life, of the work-a-day world, of long, bitter experience. They began their careers in another age of the world's activity. But they had the premonition, the vision or foresight to lay the foundation to prepare for this mighty age of business that has suddenly rushed upon us. Yet we'll admit that the captains of industry, the scientific business executives, the master minds of finance, as we have come to know the terms, are all too few among us.

We find ourselves, then, in the same old rut—groping about in the field of business without efficient leaders, just as we have been doing in politics, in religion, in education. And we seem to wake to the necessity of leaders for any given age after such age has passed. We do not seem to envisage; we do not seem to forecast the problems of the future on a sufficiently large scale to prepare leaders for the times that are just ahead of us. So in this, one of the most complex ages of all times, we are in dire need of trained leaders.

In order to cope with the problems, to meet the demands of the age, we need the trained minds of the economist, of the mechanical and electrical engineer, of the corporation lawyer behind the executive mind of the general manager. We need the vision, breadth of judgment and the experience of the successful business men among us to formulate policies, to study national and international conditions, to plan safe and sound enterprises. We need the mind of the psychologist behind the advertising and selling forces. We need the mathematical and analytical minds to devise the checks and balances on the finance in the person of the auditor, the accountant, the comptroler.

We need, with all, an economic consciousness, a feeling that must grip us with intense fervor if we are to be a factor in the present age. Bookkeepers, clerks and stenographers must catch the vision. They must climb to the higher reaches. Their aspirations must extend to the executive's chair.

Those untried in the field must enroll in large numbers, find themselves and develop along their bent. We can't have too many honest, efficient business men and women. If you would play your part in the mighty conflict, "think on these things."

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., JOURNAL
DECEMBER 23, 1920

The Promising Negro.

Recent years have witnessed some remarkable transformations among nations. But no racial group has shown more remarkable promise or revealed more power of adjustment to modern conditions than the ten million Negroes of this Country.

In fifty years illiteracy among them has decreased from ninety to thirty per cent. One-fourth of the ten million own their own farms. Forty thousand have won places in business or the professions.

One hundred banks are owned by colored men. One million eight hundred thousand colored children are in public schools, and five hundred higher institutions of learning minister to the needs of colored youth. During the war American Negroes invested two hundred and twenty-five million dollars in Liberty bonds.

More significant than all, perhaps, is the fact that these Americans have shown the power to produce their leaders from their own ranks. They count orators, painters, authors, sculptors, lawyers, scientists and bankers among their numbers.

Booker T. Washington believed that the Negro's best interest lay in perfecting himself along industrial lines and in becoming first of all a direct producer. Other leaders like W. E. Dubois favor a wider sphere of activity and feel that he should enter into the councils of State and Nation. Whatever line may be followed by this folk, the fact remains that already they have proved themselves to have great capacity for progress.

WHY NEGROES FAIL TO PATRONIZE EACH OTHER.

There is no question discussed among members of our race more than the question of the failure of the Negro to give the majority of his patronage to the institutions that are owned and operated by race members.

To every question that we deal with there are always two sides. Therefore, we are endeavoring to deal with both sides as we see them. The first thing that we must take into consideration is that the majority of Negroes go into other places out of sheer ignorance. They sometimes spend their money with the white man because they are under the impression that we are apt to deal unjustly with them. They have been taught in many cases that the Negro business man is a crook, and the only way to get a square deal is to patronize the white man's institutions. Others go into the places of members of the white race to spend their money because they have been trained from their youth to patronize the white man. Another reason that is of fundamental importance to the Negro business man, is the failure of the race members to use common courtesy and business acumen in their dealings with their colored patrons. And this reason is driving thousands of Negroes from our institutions. The Negro of today, be he ditch digger or what not, is demanding the same

SAVING FOR THE JEW

The Christian Advocate
Dec 30 1920

During the past week there have been paid out millions of dollars to colored people in what is called Christmas Saving Funds. We clip the following from an exchange: "Mr. W. J. Shaw, cashier of the Atlanta State Savings Bank, is back at his desk after a week's illness in time to sign $60,000 in Christmas savings, paid out by the bank on the 11th, inst." The Atlanta Bank saved up over $60,000. Another bank distributed nearly $100,000. While a small amount of this money was put back into the savings, the greater portion of it went into buying luxuries and necessities for the Christmas season. Last year one banker who had distributed $80,000 at Christmas time is reported to have said that it made him weep to see two-thirds of that amount spent inside of 72 hours with white merchants, because of the lack of organizing the Christmas trade among colored merchants. In Philadelphia at least an eight of a million dollars was distributed last week to our people through savings funds. At least 10,000 colored people have been saving all the year to spend their money with the Jew. It would have put the colored merchants far ahead if one-half of this eighth of a million dollars spent in one week, could have been spent with them, but it didn't and there is seen a gap in racial development.

The banks and savings fund operators have begun on the savings for 1921, and with the new impetus given the Christmas fund we have no doubt but that in 1921 millions of dollars may be saved by the colored people, and we trust that the colored merchants will so organize the Christmas trade that a good portion of that which is to be spent may be spent with them. Our people are not getting far ahead if after saving their money they spend it outside of their group. It is only by turning over our resources among ourselves that we can hope to survive in the midst of the race prejudice all of us have to face.

Racial Consciousness – 1920
Economics.

Credit Clothing House Collector Assaults Woman

The Courier-Journal 9-2-20
Louisville News

Usual Tactics Employed By Texan.---Patrons of Nefarious System Lay Themselves Liable To Such Treatment.---News Discourages Patronage of Such Concerns.---Attitude of Local Concerns Called To Mind.

The following news item telling of a brutal assault on a colored woman, patron of a credit clothing house in the city of Houston by a collector ror the concern, appears in the Houston Informer of that city:

Mrs. Rosa Maxey, 1815 Capitol Avenue, who rents a servant's house in the rear from a white family at that number, was brutally assaulted and struck in the head with a brick last Saturday morning by Collector Bradley, an employe of the Federal Clothing Store, 302½ Main Street.

This race woman had purchased $19 worth of merchandise from this credit clothing store (whose policy is something like a dollar down and a dollar the rest of your life) and had paid $13 on the account, owing a balance of $6. She paid on this account every Saturday and had missed a payment the preceding Saturday.

When the collector called Saturday morning he informed her that "the manager told me to jump on you and kick your hip down." To which the race woman replied: "I am not scared of you; kick my hip down." The chivalrous and knightly Hun then picked up a brick and drew it back to hurl at the race woman, when she rushed him and he struck her over the head with the brick, inflicting a mean and ugly wound.

The race woman, despite the blow, tried to fight her Hunnish adversary, but being weak with loss of blood and her clothes being bloody and torn from her body in the scuffle, she was unable to resist her male assailant and her landlady's brother (a white man) separated the combatants and drove the Hunnish collector from the premises.

A complaint was filed against the brutal and barbarious collector in Justice J. M Ray's court, later transferred to county court-at-law.

With the good wages our group is receiving here, there seems to be no necessity for purchasing clothes from these little credit houses on time. Our people should save their money, pay cash for their clothes, and then purchase them only from those stores that advertise in colored newspapers for their trade; who not only appreciate the race's trade, but who will also see to it that the race is respected, treated courteously and protected from the assaults of their salesmen and collectors.

Attitude of Knoxville Manager Called To Mind

The attitude of a manager of a local credit clothing store, is called to mind when he had a collector, posing as a deputy sheriff arrest an inoffensive and innocent colored man several months ago on a charge of having bought an article of clothing from the store and failing to pay for same. The facts as produced in a damage suit in Circuit court against the company and manager for false arrest, showed that the man had never carried an account with the concern.

Many Negroes Patronize These Concerns

It is surprising to know just how many Negroes patronize these concerns in the face of the attitude exhibited toward the race and the high cost at the credit houses as compared to the prices found at the reliable cash department stores in the city. Too, many of the patrons are people of high standing in the community.

A representative of The News was surprised beyond measure when one of these managers, desirous of having The News accept advertising from his concern, called him in and pointed to the names of "HIGH CLASS COLORED FOLKS" who carried accounts on the "dollar down and dollar a week" plan. There were names of prominent citizens who in the judgment of The News representative had sufficient rating to carry an account at The Miller Store Co., S. H. George & Sons, or J. H. Webb's stores.

The News has always discouraged the patronage of credit clothing concerns, knowing the attitude of the management. In many instances the women and men who get into the debt of the concerns are treated worse than slaves and are caused to suffer all kinds of insults and abuse from the cheap collectors.

It is a certainty that an article that sells at a price listed in a reputable concern is evidently inferior, due to the added cost in sending a collector and going through all of the red tape in collecting for the same.

With the high wages being received by Negroes and the opportunities for making money, certainly there is no excuse for the patronage of these concerns. You are assured of the very best of material in the goods you buy, reasonable prices and courteous and prompt treatment when you patronize such reliable and high class concerns as The Miller Store, S. H. George & Sons, and the J. H. Webb Company.

Louisville, Ky., Feb. 24, 1920.

2-28-20.

Editor Louisville News:

If you find the following article worthy of publication, kindly let it appear in the next issue of your paper. Louisville News

On Sunday morning, February 22, the Metropolitan insurance doctor called at the home of a colored family for the purpose of examining an applicant for the above named insurance. After stating his purpose and making some apology for breaking the Sabbath, he was admitted to the home and came in smoking as though he was in any other barn or out of doors.

The applicant whom he purposed to examine asked her husband to step in the room for a few minutes. At this the doctor became insulted, and no sooner had the husband entered the room than he blated out: "I don't want you, I want her." Then the husband in the most confidential manner let him know that he had the perfect right to be with his wife during any examination. The impertinent doctor becoming enraged, seized his hat and left the house, saying: "I don't do business that way." Thus refusing to examine the applicant.

A better thing could never have been done. This ought to be a lesson to our race. Until the time comes when we as a race patronize race organizations, and colored men demand the respect of every other man and protect their women from the impositions of other races, our race shall not reach its zenith.

This act on the part of the Metropolitan doctor shall not only lessen the respect of the family in whose home the incident took place but through their agency shall strengthen the colored insurances of our city. This is not the first time such injustice has been imposed upon a race member by an employe of a white insurance. If we as a race would sever all connection with the white insurances and place our interest in the race insurances of oru city, we should have organizations second to none—the Metropolitan included.

Let us not wait until a white insruance employe of our city leads as mob, as we so lately read of the like in the papers, but let us remember that "a stitch in time saves nine.' For an organization that will employ a man who will not give common politeness and justice to a man protecting his wife from the intrusion and disrespect of another man is not worthy of the patronage of the Colored race.

SUBSCRIBER.

WARE WOLF.

A few days ago a white man representing one of four outlaw laboring organizations came to town with a proposition for some of the members among organized Negro laboring men which he claimed would be of immense benefit to them.

The Courier-Journal 2-25-20

It is an excellent sign of the change and the progress which has taken place among the Negroes within the past few years that they saw all the way through and into his proposition within the first few minutes after it was put up to them. Negro organization men who a few years ago would have been as easily led by any kind of white man as so many sheep contested all claims made by the white organizer until they had at last gotten to the crux of the matter which was that the organization represented by the white organizer refered to will not allow Negro representation on any committees whatever. Grievance committees, according to their laws, must be composed of white men, working committees must be white men, offices must be white men and all the business of the organization must be conducted by white men. The dear fraternal brother might have offered Mobile Negro organized labor the world with a fence around it, but when he made such conditions as this for men who have become experienced in handling their own affairs, he had killed his proposition before he got started.

Negro organized labor is here to stick until the proverbial freeze takes place. Broadminded policies both in relationship to employers and to white fellow employees is the rule and custom amongst us. Negro organized labor never has nor ever will be used as an offensive weapon but every intelligent man, white or black, realizes that Negroes must organize as a defensive measure.

We have many men who are qualified to represent our laboring men and our labor leaders are especially well chosen in that in the main they realize their shortcomings and whenever it is necessary to do so they procure the services of men, white or black, as the need may be, for the handling of whatever affairs they may be unfitted or unable to handle. However, we have went too far and have learned too much by our mistakes of the past and have had too much experience with the life of laboring men to ever relinquish one iota of the leadership and capable management which we have enjoyed from our own ranks.

If a wolf comes to us in sheep's clothing he sure will have to hide his feet: we have been stung before.

Federal Clothing Collector Hit Race Woman With Brick; Attack Most Brutally Hunnish

The Houston Informer
8-21-20

Houston seems to be well populated with Huns and exponents of Hunnish kultur, who are endeavoring to establish new records in brutality and heinousness and thereby make their European brothers look like pikers. In this respect they are succeeding admirably.

Mrs. Rosa Maxey, 1815 Capitol Avenue, who rents a servant's house in the rear from a white family at that number, was brutally assaulted and struck in the head with a brick last Saturday morning by Collector Bradley, an employe of the Federal Clothing Store, 302½ Main Street.

This race woman had purchased $19 worth of merchandise from this credit clothing store (whose policy is something like a dollar down and a dollar the rest of your life) and had paid $13 on the account, owing a balance of $6. She paid on this account every Saturday and had missed a payment the preceding Saturday.

When the collector called Saturday morning he informed her that "the manager told me to jump on you and kick your hip down." To which the race woman replied: "I'm not scared of you; kick my hip down." The chivalrous and knightly Hun then picked up a brick and drew it back to hurl at the race woman, when she rushed him and he struck her over the head with the brick, inflicting a mean and ugly wound.

The race woman, despite the blow, tried to fight her Hunnish adversary, but being weak with loss of blood and her clothes being bloody and torn from her body in the scuffle, she was unable to resist her male assailant and her landlady's brother (a white man) separated the combatants and drove the Hunnish collector from the premises.

A complaint was filed against the brutal and barbarous collector in Justice J. M. Ray's court, later transferred to county court-at-law.

When one takes into consideration the fact that this store does not cater to nor solicit the colored people's trade through race newspapers, it is not to be marveled at when the manager instructs his collectors to "jump on" colored women and "kick their hips down."

With the good wages our group is receiving here, there seems to be no necessity for purchasing clothes from these little old credit houses on time. Our people should save their money, pay cash for their clothes, and then purchase them only from those stores that advertise in colored newspapers for their trade; who not only appreciate the race's trade, but who will also see to it that the race is respected, treated courteously and protected from the assaults of their salesmen and collectors.

A VERY TRAGICAL LESSON.

The Houston Informer,
H—17—20

The perhaps fatal shooting of a colored patron, Washington Binford by Nick Larkaru, a Greek restauranteur who operates the Public Cafe, 508 Milam St., Monday morning, is a very tragical lesson, even (granting that the Greek's version of the affair is true) if the wrong victim did receive the bullet.

The Greek, whose cafe caters wholly and exclusively to colored patrons, alleges that a colored patron had hurled a cup at his "bean" as the result of a squabble over a piece of butter and that he secured his pistol and fired at the supposed hurler, hitting Binford, who was entering his cafe door to purchase a cup of coffee.

It is to be regretted that with downtown cafes operated by two colored men, Alfred Smith and J. H. Dorn, 415 Milam and 715 Prairie, respectively, any race man would meet such an untimely fate running pell-mell into a place operated by men of another race, who greet their patrons with bullets and often treat them with chairs and their boots.

Enough colored people have been mistreated in that Greek's place to have taught our people, especially that element that frquents the places operated by Greeks and other foreigners, a good lesson.

It is currently rumored that this same Greek had to leave another city because he shot a colored patron and the colored people of said city boycotted his business.

Yet there is an element within our race here who will try to justify the local shooting affray and continue to patronize the Greek's place of business and thus put him in a position where he can with impunity and light bonds (he was only placed under a $300 bond for shooting the colored patron) continue to shoot his colored patrons.

Every colored person that continues to patronize that Greek's cafe should receive from the Greek and his Grecian partners the same dose of medicine that the unfortunate Washington Binford received.

The Informer is not an advocate of violence nor force; but any black cattle possessing such little race pride that they will enrich men of foreign extraction and another racial connection, to kick and kill them and theirs when seeking to patronize their business, deserve no pity nor mercy and whatever befalls them in such places, in the street vernacular, "there's no better for them."

STATE IS FLOODED WITH MONEY.

In every section of Alabama can be found a large surplus of cash, an over amount necessary for every day comfort. In the Birmingham district and in the mineral fields of Alabama this condition prevails generally. It is no task to find Negro men with from five hundred to five thousand dollars, many of them are using their money wisely while a large percent are extravagant and careless this is where the alarm comes and from this group we might expect our charity wards in the future. Something must be done to have these men become more interested in themselves, their families and future.

These conditions must change; they won't change for better, but for worse and the humbler members of the race are bound to suffer if at this time they will not use precaution, economy and commonsense flashy clothing and loud out-door appearance are expensive habits to many of our race members.

Heads of churches, lodges, social and missionary societies can work wonderfully in saving our people from many of their extravagant ways by simply calling attention to the approach of danger and counsel the proper and sensible use of money.

Economic training and systematic living is a wonderful asset to an individual, a family and a race. This training and this form of living has not been generously practiced by a large group of our people who so much need it. It appears now that to save ourselves we must save others. The thinking and sober members of the race must stand in the path and in the leadership so as to come in personal contact with the unfortunate and yet honest members of the race. There can be no greater esrvice, no more religious act than to serve humanity in its primitive and uncultured stage of development. The only service commendable in human society, and we dare say acceptable to God the Creator, is that service rendered to human beings, a word of consolation, a deed of inspiration, a reviving act that brings to the surface the higher sense of the man, the respect of soul and body comfort.

We are not free, we are not saved. we cannot be thoroughly happy when we of our own knowledge must admit that eighty-five percent of our grown-up people are lacking in the fundamental developments that establish the proper course of action in the use of finance.

There is no effort in this opinion at comparisons as it regards other races or a comparison with members within the race. It is an effort however to expose a situation that is destroying a large group of our people and in time will bring suffering to us all, when if proper precaution was taken, happiness and prosperity might continue.

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"EZEKIEL CHEEVER" ON NEGRO TEACHERS AND PUPILS

IN THE COLUMN of The Sunday Sun, with the title at its head of "Ezekiel Cheever at the Breakfast Table," the editor at the "Breakfast Table" columns displays flagrantly and recklessly the silly notion common to the small-minded Southern white man of the infallibility and perfection attending the possession of a white skin. Children of a certain race are white, therefore, they are mentally superior to children of another race who are black. Mr. "Cheever" is white, therefore Mr. Cheever's judgments are infallible and his serious, sapient and ponderous deliverances concerning the Negro are to be regarded as authority beyond which there is no appeal.

In assailing Mayor Broening and the just-minded men and women who believe that the salaries of all Baltimore school teachers should be equalized, Mr. Cheever says:

> **"One single fact lies in the background that cannot be refuted. Scientific research bears out the fact that at the present time our Negro pupils are not equal to white pupils ni learning caapcity, and this carries through to the teaching force. It may be brutal to state, but it is true that the average ability of our Negro teachers to impart knowledge is far below the average ability of white teachers. This is not a speculation, but a conclusion based on voluminous data. A wise school administration does not attempt to give the pupils of a given grade in a colored school the same standard of work that is expected from a white class of the same grade, because the colored children cannot do it."**

Scientific research! It does not require "scientific research" for Mr. Cheever to acquaint himself with the knowledge that the white race to which he belongs and to which he ascribes perfection, has never failed to produce scientists, historians, philosophers, and statesmen who could turn and twist nature and nature's laws into seeming reconciliation with, approval and obsolute proof of every theory born of prejudice or desire, every iniquity, every outrage perpretrated upon those whom they oppressed .`Only sixty years ago Mr. "Cheever's" people believed and learnedly discoursed upon the impossibility of the Negro acquiring learning at all.

White fools have written books i recent years proving that the Negro has no soul; and the Rev. Thomas Dixon, "author," "playright," "actor," has coined prejudice into hundreds of thousands of dollars proving that the Negro is a beast.

The most enraging feature of Mr. "Cheever's" ink spill, is his logic. He decides that Negro children are not equal in learning capacity to white children, then argues that Negro teachers are inferior in ability to impart, and therefore should be poorly paid. To Mr. Cheever, training and cultivation count for nothing with Negroes. Negro school teachers should be poorly paid, thus discouraging those who, as exceptions, might break through his racial mental barriers ad develop the teaching ability which he finds lacking, or else he believes that since Negro pupils are deficient in learning capacity, no effort should be made to develop greater capacity through the selection of the best teaching force possible to be secured.

The editor of a department of a great newspaper like The Sun should really inform himself in regard to the subjects he discusses. It might irritate him but would, nevertheless, enlighten him to secure records made by Negro pupils in mixed schools from schools in the grades in Northern cities to great institutions of learning like Harvard. In every college, every year, they have won distinguished honors frequently leading their classes, and in nearly every city there are those who outdistance the white pupils, "heredity," "home training," white skin and all.

Mr. Cheever's prejudiced and vicious article discloses a warped and narrow intellect that would reject the evidence of brilliant scholarship in schools; but it won't hurt the spliendid record of scholarship of our boys and girls in schools where they have opportunity to master the standard set for any race, notwithstanding Mr. Cheever's "scientific research."

Also Mr. Cheever might get his vision broadened by inspecting the work and the surroundings of the Negro teachers in Baltimore. A visit to the High School on a cold, rainy day would be impressive; let him observe teachers and pupils tramping two blocks from the High School

Barn to a church for chapel exercises and back to the barn, then go through the barn and witness the crowded rooms, the unsanitary condition, the cold and discomfort endured by the teachers who sacrifice health to do their work and with all these physical hindrances the faithfulness and ability with which they discharge their duties, and let him say then whether there should be discrimination in salary on account of color.

GOVERNMENTAL AUTHORITY.

10—17—19

We have watched with a deal of interest the activities of the officials of the United States Government in their effort to suppress a certain wing of the Socialist Party, the I. W. W., and the plotters against the peace and welfare of this nation. We understand that so zealous are these officers in suppressing any movement that tends to undermind this democratic government, that even raids are made on the meeting places where these groups gather.

The St. Louis Argus

As to whether such actions are right or wrong, we are not discussing, but we do think that governmental authority should extend a little further. We would direct attention to the mob spirit and lynchings that are rife in the land. If there is anything that is a menace to good government, it is the mob-lynch spirit. Why is it that the government can't take a hand in running down THESE murderers and defiers of the law and order?

Expose the criminal records of the two classes during the past thirty years; put to the credit of the mob-lynches over three thousand lives and, to the credit of the Socialist I. W. W., whatever may be traced to their door, then draw your conclusion.

It does not require a seer to see the growing defiance of mob-lynch-law in this country. The recent attack upon Mr. John R. Shillady, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at Austin, Tex.; and the hanging by a mob of his Hon. Mayor Smith of Omaha, is conclusive evidence that he who runs may read, that mob violence has a strong hold upon this country. Through all this the local authorities have either been unable or indifferent to the enforcement of law and order. Yet, we do not recall a single instance where the United States Government has made any effort whatever, to suppress this form of lawlessness, nor assisted in the prosecution of a single case as an aftermath of such outrages.

As an excuse for non interference, governmental officials have dodged behind "State Rights," but their recent activities in hunting down another class of so-called criminals, show that they can take up any case they wish to in any state they choose.

We have a feeling that because mob-violence has generally been directed against the Negro, is why this government has always found its arms too short to reach the case.

We are watching with a deal of interest the present activities on the part of Government officials in suppressing what they term as "dangerous agitation" on the part of certain class of people. When we consider the Big things that have been overlooked or winked at, it looks like a case of "straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel."

not a shallow matter of getting married and being brothers-in-law. A pure-blooded Mongolian can be "American." A white man can be "American." It is not a color; it is a spirit.

We claim, therefore, that the most dreadful need in the country is to Americanize thoroughly our native-born. We must Americanize the laws and legislatures of the South. If we are ever to Americanize the foreign-born we must have something to do it with, and that something must be the native product. Those who come to us will tend to become what we are. Have we ever reflected that perhaps our failure to make the immigrant an American is due first of all to our failure in being American?

It happens to be that the negro is the most American group in the country, both in ancestry and in point of attitude of mind. His line reaches much further back than that of the average white man of the country. In spirit he is less arrogant, more liberal and democratic, and believes more sincerely that "all men are born free and equal." He does not believe that he is naturally entitled to more privileges than other breeds of men. That is of the very essence of the spirit that made America. The negro does not lynch, and does not act by virtue of the mob, except in self-defense against white mobs. He wants the case tried in court. He wants law and order to be supreme, and as a group he does not ask any artificial advantage of any other group. That is of the essence of America.

The intelligent negro is therefore puzzled when he hears anybody talking about Americanizing the negro. He knows that the battle would be over if only we could Americanize the white man.

WILLIAM PICKENS.

Baltimore, February 21, 1920.

DUNBAR BUST UNVEILED IN WASHINGTON

Washington, D. C., Feb. 28, 1920.—Before an audience which packed the spacious assembly hall of the Dunbar High School, Wed., afternoon, February 25, a life size bronze bust of the poet, Paul Lawrence Dunbar, in whose honor the school is named, was unveiled. The bust is a gift of the alumni to the school. The principal address for the occasion was delivered by Dean Kelly Miller of Howard University. Captain Johnson, president of the alumni association, Mrs. Coralie Franklin Cook, a member of the Board of Education, and Mr. Emmet J. Ecott, Secretary-Treasurer of Howard University, also delivered short addresses, complimenting the sculptor, Mrs. May Howard Jackson upon her wonderful characterization of the poet in bronze.

PHILADELPHIA PUBLIC LEDGER
FEBRUARY 25, 1920

NEGRO AND AMERICANIZATION

Attempt Made to Show Black Man "Most American Group" Here

To the Editor of Public Ledger:

Sir—We hear so much in these days about Americanization, in conferences, schools, social programs and committees, that it is about time to stop and consider what it is to be American or Americanized. We hear much of teaching English and standards of living, systems of politics and government. These things are important, but they are not at all there is to being an American; they are not the most fundamental elements of the American genius. For example, they speak English in Canada, in England and in some guise in the union of South Africa and in Georgia and Texas. But neither the union of South Africa, nor Georgia, nor Texas has anything like the American spirit.

The American spirit is, first of all, a spirit of liberty. It necessarily involves a spirit of equality and of brotherhood. It is

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tion.

Ofcourse, I am intelligent enough to know the reason for this denunciation of the colored man. One of the ob- [illegible] to keep the gap as wide as possible between the white woman and the colored man. But why is there little or no effort to widen the gap between the white man and the colored woman? Why are our men not punished for intimate relations with colored women? No! This would interfere with white men's social freedom. Yet they arrogate into themselves the role of supreme dictator as to the race or color of men with whom we must or must not mingle, while they will brook no interference as to the race or color of women with whom they mingle and become intimate.

With all the emphasis at my command I affirm that the colored man is not the unworthy creature that the press, platform, pulpit and the movies have pictured him to be. The veil of illusion is being gradually removed from white women's eyes.—Miss Critical Observer, in the Baltimore American.

COLORED MAN NOT AS BAD AS PICTURED

The Savannah

American white women for decades have been blindfolded and duped as to the colored man. The colored man has been [illegible] their eyes as a lustful and vicious creature. As a consequence, great masses of us, and because of ignorance of literature and statistics bearing on the truth of the case, have come to believe the unwarranted and unfounded charge against the colored man as a class. But the undeniable, rock-bottom truth is that Negro men are no more prone to commit heinous crimes against women than are other men. If there be any one who doubts the truth of this statement let them make a comparative study of the statistics bearing on lecherous crimes against women and their doubts will vanish. The result of the comparison will be in favor of the colored man. If I were to publish the figures I have on my desk I would startle my readers Colored men in other countries such as Canada. Central America, South America, West Indies and Africa are not pictured as the arch assailants of women In fact, it is said that the attitude of the native African toward women is superior in point of decency to that of men in the most highly cultured countries. When I am told that the colored man is so lustfully inclined, I ask why is that there are 4,000,000 mulattoes in the United States and that this number is yearly increasing. White men tremble before this question. They know they are responsible. Yet many of them are always telling us women about "Negro brutes" and "Negro rapists." In the south, my native home, where there is the loudest cry about "race separation" and "white purity," the greatest mingling of white men and colored women takes place. The south is the garden spot of mulattoes.

It must not be assumed that while women will always remain ignorant of and indifferent to this fact Many of us are wide awake and are thinking, although only a few of us dare to express ourselves publicly on this ques-

NEVAL H. THOMAS SCORES PRO. REED ON RECENT BOOK

The New York Dispatch

Dunbar High School Instructor in Scathing Letter Gives Reasons Why Book on Form and Functions of American Gov't Should Not Be Placed in Schools

In a most scathing manner Prof. Neval H. Thomas, instructor in History in the Dunbar High School, Washington, D. C. sends Prof. Thomas H. Reed, the result of his review on the most recent book written by Prof. Reed entitled "Form and Functions of American Government," and gives reasons as to why, in his judgment, the book should not be placed in the schools of the country. The letter follows:

November 30 1920.

Prof. Thomas H. Reed,
Professor of Municipal Government,
University of California,
Berkeley California.

My dear Sir:

As instructor in history in Dunbar High School, your recent book, "Form and Functions of American Government," has been given me for review. I find it so filled with opinion at the expense of accurate facts that I am

constrained to write you concerning several of its outstatnding errors.

First, in the chapter on Democratic Evolution, page 102, you state, "In the South, the motive of eliminating the Negro as a political factor has led to some very interesting restrictions on the suffrage." It is common knowledge that all of these "interesting restrictions" are flagrant violations of the fundamental law of the land, and subversive of good government. They flout the constitution of our country, and encourage both white and black to remain in ignorance. So they are not "very interesting," but criminal.

Second, in this same chapter, page 103, you line up again with prejudiced Southern opinion, saying, "The Negro is apt to forget all about the necessity of making payment of his poll tax, or, if he does make it, improvidently loses the receipt." Have you read of the eagerness of the Negroes in the South in the recent election which swept this Bourbon Southern regime from power, their eagerness to vote in defiance of the shotgun policy of the ballot box thieves? Does this show improvidence? There are millions of whites all over this country who never vote. Paying poll tax, acquiring education and property, studying public questions are all nothing to the wicked white South which knows nothing but color.

Third, in the chapter on "Territories and Dependencies," you say, "Washington is a Southern City and contains a very large proportion of Negro inhabitants. It would be extremely distasteful to the white population if these Negroes were allowed to vote. It is probable, too, that their general ignorance would make their admission to the franchise undesirable." Certainly, very undesirable to our oppressors, who know that by robbing us of the ballot it is much easier to steal our school fund, deny us civil privileges, pass anti-marriage laws and then rape Colored women and children with impunity. I challenge contradicion when I say that few electorates are intelligent. If they are, why is the present incompetent administration in power? Negroes voted against it every time. When Negroes ruled the Southern States they sent congressional delegations here who were far superior to the white demagogues who receive the suffrage of the white South today. I would ask you to read Blaine's "Twenty Years in Congress" for the record black statesmen made in both Senate and House. I have no hesitancy in saying—and the record proves it—that the Negro vote is more intelligent and patriotic than that of most of the white. So, suffrage in the District and in the wicked South will make for social welfare, even if it is "undesirable" to the short-sighted apologists of disfranchisement, segregation, the trampling under foot of the Constiution we profess to love, school fund theft and every other crime against democracy.

I assure you, sir, that when we get Negro suffrage here and in the South—and we are going to get it, at any cost—you will see larger appropriations for schools, hospitals, police and fire departments; more competent officials, better civic sanitation; a more equitable distribution of wealth; the enactment and enforcement of more salutary laws. And I further assure you that the board of education of this city, one-third of whom are Colored, would never introduce such a book in our schools to poison the minds of 65,000 children. Such propaganda cannot find its way into the hundreds of Colored schools in the South and in the thousands of institutions in the North where white and black attend school together.

In conclusion, sir, let me say that it is a prostitution of scholarship to array it on the side of Color casts. The university should be the center of light from which the masses can get the truth and from which should come preachments of obedience to just laws, the only safeguard of the nation.

Respectfully yours,

(Signed) NEVAL H. THOMAS.

"WE TAKE OUR HATS OFF TO"

The World Outlook takes off its hat to certain outstanding Negroes. It devotes two pages practically to Negroes who have made good. If there had not been an apparent attempt to feature the top-notch men and women of the Negro race, this word of ours would not be out of place. Unfortunately, as a race, we suffer because people do not know us and in their attempt to find us out they either fall in bad hands or get an imperfect view.

The Outlook, in enumerating outstanding Negroes, should have, by all means, included

HENRY O. TANNER,

Whose paintings are a distinct contribution to the art of the world, and his Lazarus hangs in the Louvre,

Who should be put down in any list of the present day artists of the wide world.

ROBERT L. SMITH,

Who founded in Texas the Farmers' Improvement Society, which operates a bank, a school, an orphanage, a number of farms and has actually lifted many of the Negro farmers in Texas out of the quagmire of semi-slavery, freed them from debt and put them on their feet as independent and forward-looking men.

EMMETT J. SCOTT,

Who is a prince among men, a statesman, a diplomat, a leader, a keen thinker, a distinct contributor to the morale of the Nation and to the efficiency of the Nation in the world conflict as Special Assistant to the Secretary of War;

Who is one of the founders of the National Negro Business League and who, as Secretary of Tuskegee and of Booker T. Washington and as a commissioner of Liberia served his day and generation well.

MR. AND MRS. A. E. MALONE,

Who paid last year an income tax of $100,000,

Who have built the largest and most complete business structure owned by Negroes in the world and which is, however, in fact a community house, built rather among the Negro population than in the commercial district, adjacent to a church and to a high school, the rooms open for community plays and for community service at all time;

Who begin the day's work of their large number of employees with prayer and singing and exhortation, paid for in the regular rate of the day's wages. Beat this if you can for community service and for religious endeavor.

JESSE E. MOORLAND,

Who is the leader of the Y. M. C. A. forces among colored men under whose leadership 15 magnificent buildings, costing from $75,000 to $400,000 each, have been erected in 15 centers, principally in the North, the most outstanding social endeavor of the last ten years for the betterment of the Negro.

W. S. SCARBOROUGH,

Who wrote a Greek text book that was used in Harvard.

WOLO,

Who is native of the bush in Africa;

Who within 14 years from the time he was taken out of the bush finished Harvard with its highest honors, took two courses at once, one of which gave him Ph. D., in Columbia University;

Who has gone back to Africa to do service among his people.

GEORGE C. CARVER,

Who has done more with the clays of the South and in the development of the native products than any other man in the South, white or black;

Who is a typical Negro, but a scientist of the highest order.

HEMAN E. PERRY,

Who organized and is today the President of the only Old Line Insurance Company owned and controlled by Negroes, who in his first attempt failed and paid back dollar for dollar all his investors, so that they did not lose a penny, although he lost the beginnings of his fortune. Can this be beaten for honesty?

E. H. OLIVER,

Who has gone down in the slums of Atlanta, operates five mission Sunday Schools in five different centers in the alleys and slums of Atlanta;

Who is gathering in the children by the hundreds, who is reaching the older people by the thousands, teaching them thrift, industry, cleanliness and with all, religion.

WM. H. BROOKS,

Who is an outstanding figure in the City of New York as a preacher of the Gospel, a leader in social movements; who has led his congregation in purchase of property valued at more than one-quarter of a million; who operates an Old Folks' Home, a Parish House and though doing it quietly, he is doing things effectively.

This is no stricture on the World Outlook. It simply shows how even the wisest and the best fail to properly estimate the Negro's case in spite of all that is said and done. The many barriers that have been erected, some justifiable, some unjustifiable, some false and foolish, some totally sinful and wrong, all prevent our knowing each other as we should. We live our life apart, we get our facts concerning each other extremely mixed. The Negro knows his white brother better, for he lives in his home as a domestic; he reads his papers and books. The white man barely scans the books and papers that the Negro writes and seldom lightens the door of his home.

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Historical and Social.

THE IGNORANCE OF SIR HARRY JOHNSON.

"WHY a Nigger Republic Must Fail." "Growing Menace from Millions of Embittered Afro-Americans" is the sensational head, which the Daily Sketch of London gives to Sir Harry Johnson's article on "American Negro Ignorance of Africa." But the article should be headed "Sir Harry Johnson's Ignorance of the West Indian and American Negro." It would require too much space and time to discuss pro and con the possibility of an African republic under an American Negro president. But we desire to show that Sir Harry Johnson knows nothing whatever about the subject on which he claims to be ominiscient.

In the first place, he characterizes the idea of a universal African republic as a Negro-Irish alliance. Those who read the Negro World and attend the meetings in Liberty Hall, New York city, know that the Universal Negro Improvement Association is a Negro movement per se and while it sympathizes with Ireland, India and Egypt and other nations in their efforts to shake off the hand of the oppressor, it is single minded in its purpose. So that is error number one for Sir Harry Johnson.

Now for error number two. Sir Harry Johnson continually harps upon the fact of an African republic under an American Negro president and talks about American Negro ignorance of Africa. As a matter of fact, the Hon. Marcus Garvey, the provisional president of Africa is a native of Jamaica, British West Indies. And the fact that Sir Harry Johnson thinks he is an American Negro shows how little the English administrator and writer knows about the Negro of the Western Hemisphere. That is error number two.

Now for error number three. Now comes the sweeping generalization of Sir Harry Johnson. He says, "I have made the acquaintance of highly educated men and even women of Negro or Negroid race and American birth who were well worth listening to because they were versed in the botany or agriculture of the United States or of Brazil, or who were clever chemists, bacteriologists, surgeons, professors of American or West Indian history, musicians, dramatists, mathematicians of novelists of wit and savor.

"But I have never met one that knew anything accurate and true about Africa."

In this message, Sir Harry Johnson reaches the superlative degree of egotism. He virtually says "What I don't know don't exist." It shows that Sir Harry Johnson is a poor scientist and poor historian. He says nothing whatever about books by Negro authors, he has read. What real scientist or historian would generalize merely from chance conversation with persons he met? He usually consults records and makes researches. Has Sir Harry Johnson done that in the present instance? No. He has not read the writings of Negro scholars and authors and yet generalizes regarding their knowledge and lack of knowledge. That is typical British conceit. Three American Negroes lived and travelled in Africa and wrote books that attracted attention. Dr. Alexander Crummell wrote "Africa and America" and "Liberia's Offering. Hon. George W. Ellis wrote "Negro Culture in West Africa" which was commended by Prof. Frederick Starr of the university of Chicago. And Dr. Martin R. Delaney wrote a remarkable treatise on Africa. Then Dr. Du Bois wrote an interesting book "The Negro" dealing partly with Africa. And then Edward W. Blyden, wrote "African Life and Customs" and "Islam, Christianity and the Negro." But he was not an American Negro. We would suggest that Sir Harry Johnson read these seven books and our two volume work "The African Abroad," and then we would like to hear what sweeping generalizations he would make.

Sir Harry Johnson is a case in point of the egotistic ignorance of critics of the Negro, who make sweeping generalizations about subjects that they have not studied and know nothing whatever about.

Dr. Alexander Crummell was a Master of Arts of Cambridge University, England, and spent twenty years on the West Coast of Africa, visiting seventy different tribes. When he died at Point Pleasant, N. J., in the summer of 1898, the New York Tribune pronounced him the ripest scholar of his race. His works "Africa and America" and "Liberia's Offering" are illuminating and could teach Sir Harry Johnson something he doesn't know. And yet without reading Crummell and the other Negro writers on Africa and without knowing the Negroes' contribution to the literature of Africa, Sir Harry Johnson has the nerve, the audacity and the brazen effrontery to dogmatize about what the American Negro knows or doesn't know about Africa. We would suggest that he visit Young's Book Exchange in New York or the Library of Mr. A. A. Schomburg, of Broooklyn, and study Negro literature before he goes off on a tangent again, writing and talking about what he doesn't know and airing his own ignorance.

Sir Harry Johnson speaks truly when he says "We should remember these 25 millions of African origin in the New World are an increasing potent force, potent in money and intelligence. Like the Irish, they may come about to sway political decisions in the three Americas. That shows he knows something about the mass strength and potentialities of the Negroes of Western Hemisphere. But when he attempts to generalize about the Negro scholar he has not met and whose books he has not read, he goes far afield. As we said before Sir Harry Johnson's article should be headed "My Ignorance of the American Negro."

Heretofore we have merely sat in judgment upon the knowledge of a learned gentleman. But now we must call him into question for not telling all that he knows. He says "There have been American missionaries in Africa who have achieved success, but they have been white men," can it be possible that Sir Harry Johnson does not know the splendid work that Rev. Daniel Cabor, a Methodist and Rev. Lott Carey, a Baptist did in Liberia? We do not know, whether he would lead us to infer that no Negro ever achieved success as a missionor in Africa. There was Aagon Crowther, of the Yoriba tribe, who did such splendid work as a missionary in Africa, that he was made Bishop of the Niger by the Anglican church and received the Doctor of Divinity degree from Oxford University. Sir Harry Johnson has evidently some distance to go before he can be what he aspires to be namely an authority on Africa.

W. H. F.

JERSEY CITY N J JOURNAL
APRIL 10, 1920

THE COLORED RACE—A REPLY TO RUSSELL A WHEELER

Editor Jersey Journal:

Dear Sir—In reference to the letter in this evening's issue by one who signs himself Russell A. Wheeler, etc. As an exhibition of what happens when asked to explain certain statements issued by a publication edited by blacks it is in keeping with the regular form. Instead of letting your readers know why these statements were made he at once loses his temper and resorts to personal abuse. It is very evident that he is not of the highest type of black man. Somewhere someone has said that "vilification is the last resort of the vanquished," but I say, determined to find out either from him or some one else I am going to write again.

He brands the statement of the jostling female as false, but he knows in his heart it is true, that's why he crys "liar," but I am not disturbed because his type only gets upset when called a liar when he is one, because the truth hurts.

I still insist that not only in the two previous letters referred to but also in his own there runs the same nasty vein and nasty is the word. That he is prone to jump at conclusions, without reasonable consideration, is endenced by his remark "his colleague Mr. Gannon." There is something in this communication which makes me feel that this scribe considers himself a literatus of no mean ability and to prove this he launches into the realms, now very nearly played out, of political buncombe calculated no doubt to get the sympathy of the Jew, the Armenian and the Irish. His reference to Chicago and Washington is entirely in keeping with a mentality prone to threaten; and I feel sorry for anyone who takes any undue pride in what happened there, and if he thinks that the black man did anything or accomplished anything by that stupid performance. Well, there isn't any accounting for the way some minds run.

He accuses me of being partial in not publishing the articles referred to in their entirety. Purely for a feeling of consideration I assure him, for the paragraph following that written into my letter reads, "During our career counting the time in America we have had about thirty cases of crime (rape) among which was one where twenty-two men at Camp Grant attacked one woman, and we have eight (I believe) reported in France with about fifteen attempts besides" "The Crisis," May, 1919, Page 19). In addition to my previous questions will the writer explain to me why one so insistant upon the rights of his color never refers to the Caucasians except as the whites and objects so viciously to being called black. That it is because he is ashamed of it I am inclined to believe which accounts in a measure of his misrepresentation of himself as the true American Indian to the sorrow of many a credulous French lass.

He says since the Emancipation the patriotism of the negro has never been questioned. There never was a time in the history of the race when it approached the dignity of a question. The only times where they have done anything in a military way which seems to be the only way in the mind of the average black that he can demonstrate his patriotism were when he was under orders and was compelled to obey.

Much capital has been made by the negro, with a desire to elevate the race but incidentally with his eye on a job, out of their behavior in Cuba, but a careful investigation of that while it shows isolated cases of bravery, also shows the following from "Reminiscences of the Santiago Campaign," by Capt. John Bigelow, Troop D, 10th Cavalry, U. S. A. (Negro), Chapter XII, page 109: "As we received the first infantry rally, the troop ahead of mine started for the rear, but was soon checked" (by white men). Also page 110, same volume: "As one of our regiments with its packs on, the 6th Infantry (white) swung heavily by us at double time, I heard above the thud, thud, one of the men call out, 'Stand aside and let the infantry

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go to the front.'" Again on page 130, same volume, Capt. Bigelow says in speaking of his wound: "The bullet which went into my leg came from the direction of our men or from my proper rear." As a more recent example of how sacred the position of an officer is held by the average Negro I might mention the murder of Lieut. Jas. Europe in Mechanics' Hall, Boston, May 9, 1919, by one Herbert Wright, a drummer in the band, and also a Negro.

While I concede that some Negroes conducted themselves well in military organizations while in France during the World War, it is also indisputable that though at first the French received them the same as they did their own colonials, they were later forced through the conduct of the Negro himself to request his withdrawal, and many white units slated to return to America months before were compelled to remain there until all Negro units had been sent home; for example, the 104th Artillery lost three months on this account.

Every Negro who aspires to be a self-appointed leader, whether qualified or not, at once begins his campaign by a senseless attack on the white man on the question of equality. There can never be any doubt to the thinking mind, black or white, that this alone proves conclusively the inferiority of him who resorts to it. Statistics show that very few Negroes have became really great men and without exception they were not pure black. Dumas, himself a Negro, is credited with having said: "When I found I was black I determined to live as a white man," and being nearly white, he did.

That the Negro is not progressive as a race is evidenced by the history of Hayti and Liberia. A few exceptions individually like Frederick Douglas, Charles Young, Toussaini L'Ouverture to the contrary notwithstanding.

Trusting this will help the correspondent Wheeler to answer my questions, I close with that melody ringing in my ears that was sung by our late lamented entertainer, Nat M. Wills, "It's No Disgrace to Run When You're Scared," dedicated to Booker T. Washington. As for my record, there isn't anybody interested in me as an individual any more than they are in Wheeler. Let us both submerge ourselves in the interest of truth.

Yours,
Irwin J. Rutherford.
Jersey itCy, April 6, 1920.

"Friends of Negro Freedom" to Meet at Capital

New York City, March 11—Urged on by requests from all sections of the country, editors of the Messengers Magazine of New York with 25 others from larger cities propose a convention to meet in Washington on or about the 24th of May. The organization will be international in scope including the Haitians, West Indians, South Americans and Africans.

The proposed name of the convention is "The Friends of the Negro Freedom." Economic, political, civil, social and intellectual freedom will be the program. New methods of achieving full freedom more effective and quicker than those now in vogue will be outlined. It is understood, of course, that all measures, policies and methods will be strictly lawful.

THE CONSTITUTION AND DR. STINSON'S SOPHISTRY

Under the caption, "Good Advice," Thursday morning, the Atlanta Constitution makes much of, and exploits Dr. Stinson's downright sophistry. With much ado it publishes what purports to be the heart of a report of the committees on State of Country, made to one of the A. M. E. Annual Conference in our state.

Our neighbor observes that there is no hint of social equality in the report —no note of complaint that the Negro is not being well treated—no whining and no talk of being discriminated against. It is simply a conservative common-sense statement of facts and suggestions of service that both races might profitably follow.

Our neighbor further remarks that the report says, "as a laborer, whether in the cotton, corn, rice or turpentine fields, he is not surpassed by any other. By nature he is not an anarchist and not a striker. The great mass of them generally do what they are told to do, and too often, without a murmur or complaint." "He has tunnelled the rivers, pulled down the mountains; he has made the cotton, and he has served the home of the white people as faithfully as the watch dog."

Our neighbor says this sentiment finds favor among the right thinking people of both races. Our neighbor credits this servility to the conference, but the Independent refuses to accept this sophistry as expressive of the feeling of the A. M. E. Ministers. We believe that the report was garbled and such a part of it used as would advertise the race as a set of people whose ambition does not rise above the most menial occupations. This sentiment was written by Dr. Stinson, who preaches one thing to the white people and another to his race; and in order to give his hat in hand truculent stamina, he undertakes to put the African Methodist Episcopal pulpit behind his cowardice. Dr. Stinson is not a representative of the races' ieadls; he plays to the galleries with hat in hand to win the plaudits of that class of white men who delight to say he is a "good nigger." The race is thinking as it never thought before, and will not accept any leadership appointed by a biased white press, the Stinsons to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Negro is not content and will not be so until he enjoys in common with every other man every right vouchsafed by the law. He shuns no kind of labor that is honorable; he is willing to do all sorts of work with his hands and to do it as well as anybody else; but he will not surrender or abandon his right to use the ballot or have a voice in the government of which he is a part and pacel. He is tired of being called a "good nigger," he wants to be called—and will be called—a man and a citizen. When the Constitution and Dr. Stinson state that he is content to dig the ditches and pull down the mountains and accept as his reward for work well dun meat and bread only, they both reckon without their host and misrepresent a proud people, ambitious to vote and have a voice in the government that they have defended and suported with their lives.

The Negro will not always submit to taxation without representation; he believes in the Jeffersonian idea, "that there is no just government without the consent of the governed."

When Dr. Stinson states for the great A. M. E. Church that the race has no complaint, that it is content to be jimcrowed, segregated, lynched and disfranchised by the government which it has helped to preserve by its life blood, he not only stultifies himself, but libels a proud people, who will not be content until they enjoy every economic, industrial and political right and the ballot is the remedy. Lynch law and mob violence must cease. The conscience of the American people must be aroused and the great A. M. E. Church, in common with the rank and file of the race, has dedicated the best in the man and woman to the accomplishments of these just ends, in spite of the Stinsons and the Constitution.

If the Constitution is gullible enough to let the Stinsons deceive it, it will wake up some day to find out that we have grown into the full enjoyment of our rights as American citizens. The race has long ago understood the Constitution to be its villifying enemy and that it only respects that class of Negroes which stands before its editor with hat in hand saying "me too, Boss."

What the Colored People Want.

1. Universal suffrage.
2. Better educational facilities in the South for Negroes.
3. The abolition of the so-called jim-crow car system.
4. Discontinuance of unjust discriminatory regulations and segregation in the various departments of the government.
5. The same military training for colored youths as for white.
6. The removal of an imaginary dead line in the recognition of fitness for promotion in military and naval service.
7. Removal of peonage system in the South.
8. An economic wage scale to be applied to the white and colored people alike.
9. Better housing conditions for colored employes in industrial plants.
10. Better sanitary conditions in certain sections of our cities and towns.
11. Reforms in the penal institutions of the South.
12. A fair and impartial trial by jury instead of lynching.
13. Recognition of the colored man's right and fitness to sit on juries.
14. Fair play.

SECRETARY BAKER'S WEAK PATRIOTISM

"It is believed that the colored citizens of Massachusetts should be reminded that it is a better part of patriotism to volunteer for such service as may be required, than to attempt to lay down conditions which the War Department must meet before service can be expected of them," says Secretary of War Newton D. Baker in a letter to Governor Coolidge of Massachusetts.

Mr. Baker's letter is in reply to one from the Governor urging that colored citizens of Massachusetts be allowed to organize a Machine Gun Company as a part of the National Guards. Secretary Baker announced that the colored people of Massachusetts might form a Pioneer unit or Labor Battalion, but that they would not be given permission to form an infantry unit of the guards.

Every one will admit that patriotic duty demands that a citizen serve in the place where his country requires him, but every sensible person will also admit that no country has a right to restrict service according to race or color.

Colored people are perfectly willing to serve wherever called, but they will accept no general assignment to labor battalions in a National Army.

Further than this, it sounds rather small and insignificant of Secretary of War Baker who stayed four thousand miles away from the firing line, to talk patriotism to the Massachusetts boys who fought the Huns. The old National Guards of Massachusetts, like the First Separate Company, of Baltimore, made up part of the 372nd Regiment during the war, and were brigaded throughout their entire service with the famous Red Hand Divison of the French. The regiment was decorated with a war cross and palm for distinguished service in the Champaign offensive. Nearly one hundred men were given crosses for individual acts of bravery.

Some of the dead of that regiment lie under wooden crosses in the Argonne Forest. The maimed and those suffering from shell-shock walk the streets today, their afflictions bearing eloquent testimony of their willingness to serve the country.

Among the units to be organized certainly the old veterans of the 372nd Regiment in Massachusetts and Maryland should have had the first chance.

These men are not interested in technalities, nor do they care about Secretary Baker's palatitudes but one thing they do understand and that is they went willingly when the country needed them.

If New York can have a 15th Regiment of National Guards and if Illinois can have an 8th Illinois Guards, technicalities and palaver ought not to keep Maryland and Massachusetts from reorganizing infantry units of colored national guards.

The "Negro World" is the organ of a group which has hitherto had "no language but a sigh." It doesn't pretend to be the mouthpiece of the so-called "intellectuals." They have their own particular organs, and can amuse themselves at splitting hairs to their hearts' content. "The Negro World" speaks the language of the common people, of whom God made more than any other class. It was the common people to whom Jesus brought the message of life and love, and who "heard Him gladly."

It is the common people on whom the "Negro World" leans, and to whom it appeals for strength for the fight, and their opinion we value more than all the lying flatteries of the intellectual holiday friends who "smile and smile and still are villains." Our constituency is the salt of the earth. It is the only loyal and sincere element in the Negro race; the only real Negroes. We know them and we are mighty proud of them.

PROVIDENCE R I BULLETIN
APRIL 12, 1920

FORUM SPEAKERS DISCUSS TREATMENT OF NEGROES

Some Favor, Others Oppose Civil Rights Bill.

The treatment of negroes in Rhode Island was the main topic under discussion at the People's Forum in A. C. A. Hall, Olneyville, last evening, the debate on the negro question being led by Mrs. Sarah M. Algeo. Before the negro question was taken up, James N. Arnold spoke on "The Unwritten History of Rhode Island," dealing mostly with the history of the Rhode Island colony in the days of Roger Williams. S. L. Randall presided at the meeting.

The discussion which followed on the negro question became heated at times, some of the speakers favoring the extension of all rights to negroes, while others were opposed.

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THE UP-REACH

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Page 2

Racial Consciousness—1920
Historical and Social.

A PRAYER.
"GIVE S THIS DAY."

Righteous Father, look down upo this nation of ours. We need Thy Almighty Hand to shake a lot of people into their senses, and to guide the feet of others who are willing and anxious to do right.

We would like to know whether there is any "color-line" in Heaven. Some people would have us think so. But it is hard for our little minds, knowing of Thy great love, as we do, to picture a "jim-crow Heaven, such as we have, a "jim-crow" South. We do not want to go to hell when we die, for we have been in the South—and that's enough.

It is hard for us to believe that when we reach the "Great White Throne," having come up through great trials and tribulations, forbearance and long-suffering—lynching, the prostitution of our sisters and daughters and mothers—it is hard for us to feel that some "saint" from Mississippi or Texas with a face "as white as snow," will tell us with a snarl and a slur to "Get out of here and go on over into the "nigger Heaven." Father, that would break our heart, which is now nearly bursting with anxiety.

Can it be true that you have cursed us with an everlasting curse and made color, not righteousness, the key to Heaven?

Can it be true that Heaven is the eternal abiding place for all the Grand Army of American Lynchers, they who disembowel expectant mothers, strike down the gray haired patriarchs who seek to protect the ronor of young girls; they who are always speaking of the "sanctity of WHITE women," but who have absolutely no respect for those whose honor we cherish with impulses equally sacred?

Righteous Father, we believe that these people try to fasten a lot of lies on you. We believe that they continually try to use your Holy Name as the cloak to shield their own unspeakable hypocrisy. We think you are about tired of this trickery, and you are about to smite them with eternal damnation.

We believe that when your Great Son gave us the Sermon on the Mount and the Golden Rule, he was talking to all the "children of men" everywhere, for all time.

We are trying to help you show up this double-dealing, double-crossing, infernal set of notions about "color this" and "color that." It was born of the devil, and you threw him out of Heaven, and we hope you will hurry up and throw out of Aemrica these scoundrels and blood-lust fiends.

Righteous Father, they represent neither You nor America. Amen!

THE EDITOR.

OUR LADIES' BEAUTY COMPETITION

We want the most beautiful woman of ETHIOPIAN ORIGIN.

We offer £100 (400 dollars) for the most beautiful coloured woman in the world, who MUST BE OF NEGRO EXTRACTION.

We offer a Second Prize of £50 (200 dollars) to the next best, and a Third Prize of a solid Gold Watch Wristlet.

To the Photographer who produces the Photograph of the Winning Beauty we offer a Prize of £10 (40 dollars).

Africa and Orient Review

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3. Numbered photographs selected by the Editor will be published from time to time, and our readers will be the judges.
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NEGROES SHOULD BE TAUGHT PRIDE OF RACE

The Negro World.

Editor of The Negro World:

Negroes the world over are beginning to feel the imperative need of a determined race consciousness and to realize that such consciousness can be solidly built only upon the foundation of knowledge. It is no easy matter for a Negro man or woman whose time is for the most part occupied with the problem of making a living to acquire education along racial lines; and the writer knows of no institution to which Negro children may be sent to learn the facts about themselves.

It is the writer's opinion that a school for Negro children, with sessions that do not interfere with their attendance at the public or parochial school, that taught those facts about the Negro's status during the several civilizations which the other schools so carefully overlook, is a vital necessity if we would instill a pride of race in our coming generation. There is no more fertile field for this work of education than here in Harlem; and the work of such an institution could be supplemented by courses of lectures for adults and the organization of Negro culture clubs. Text books could be edited to meet the particular demands of such an institution and systems of instruction by correspondence would make it possible to reach people living in remote districts. The Negro Improvement Association has been so remarkably active during the short span of its existence that it seems to be the logical body to undertake this work.

The writer would be grateful to have the editor's opinion of her idea, and, if possible, to hear what other readers, especially mothers, have to suggest along these lines. HAGAR.

New York, April 17.

[Editor's note: The U. N. I. A. has had this idea under consideration for some time. Plans to put it in operation have been held in abeyanec pending the convention in August.]

WHAT THE NEGRO ASKS

The Cleveland Plain Dealer

The following unsigned letter appeared in Monday's Cleveland Plain Dealer. It speaks volumes, hence its insertion here.—The Editor.

3-16-20

The Negro of today is framing his demands in unanswerable terms. He is not demanding anything that belongs to another; but he is demanding rights that are his, to acquire the identical things that other Americans enjoy. And he is specific in his demands. He asks for equal opportunity to develop himself by his own labors. He asks equal opportunity to compete with every other American for the identical fruits and blessings achieved by any other American under the American form of government. The Negro asks no gifts, but an equal opportunity to acquire any and everything other men acquire through honest toil and sacrifice.

Again we are reminded there is no new Negro. But there is a Negro with new ideals. And when he is allowed to work, to develop himself into a full man; dependent upon none except himself, he will appear as commonplace as any other American.

RACE POLITICAL CONFERENCE AT CHICAGO APR. 24

St. Louis Argus

Boston, Mass., April 12. The Colored citizens of the U. S. A. are invited to attend or send delegates to a race conference to be held in Chicago on Saturday, April 24th, called by the National Equal Rights League to deliberate upon the political measures or movements which will best promote the enjoyment of a fuller citizenship by Colored Americans.

The League feels that with the country preparing for a national political campaign and with a congress in session which has been asked to pass remedial legislation a national conference on protection and rights is a vital and an immediate necessity.

This conference conducted by the League will be an open one for individuals and for delegates. It will be arranged by the Chicago Branch of the League. The race papers have been urged to give it quick and full publicity and all fraternal, civic, literary and religious bodies are asked to make it known to their members and to send delegates. The League branches will send delegates and citizens and are requested to organize local leagues or local equal rights committees for representation at this race conference in Chicago on Saturday, April 24th. There will be morning and afternoon sessions.

For further particulars all interested persons are asked to communicate with Pres. N. S. Taylor, 3502 State street, Chicago, or Executive Secretary, W. M. Trotter, Cornhill, Boston who signed the call.

TO DEBAR FROM PUBLIC SCHOOLS LITERATURE SLANDERING RACES BEFORE THE PUBLIC.

1-17-20.

Evidence of School Children Being Taught Race Prejudice Resented by White Races.

The recent action of the Newark Board of Education in deleting "The Merchant of Venice" from the volumes of Shakespeare's plays used in the public schools on the ground that the character of Shylock slandered the Jewish race has not passed unnoticed.

At a dinner of the League of Scottish Veterans of the World War at an uptown hotel a resolution was adopted calling upon the American people "to extend the same courtesy and privilege to Scotland" and accordingly demanding that "to remove anti-Scottish prejudice the play of 'Macbeth' be barred from reading courses in American schools." The resolution goes on to deplore the traducing of the glorious clan of the Macbeths and the whole Scottish rac by Shakespeare's misrepresentation.

Racial Consciousness—1920
Historical and Social

The Race Issue, So-Called, a Social Matter Only

Competion 3-'20

AT the outset it will be necessary to say that by the caption of this article no reference is intended to what are regarded generally as pre-eminently social affairs; such as dinners, teas, parties, calls, marriages, engagements, visits ,etc. The scope of the discussion upon which we are about to enter includes none of these things, yet it will be maintained that the issue is chiefly, if not solely, within the sphere of social life.

Because of the double use of the term, the subject is often beclouded through dialectic jugglery, and men are thus led into false positions. White men often affirm that colored men are demanding social equality in the social sense; colored men, as strenuously denying this, are then said to abandon their claim for social equality in the scientific sense. Let it be considered here once for all that social equality in the society sense is an absurdity; for were this a fact or even a possibility, society, in that sense would not exist. Society in this sense rests entirely upon the fiction that some are so superior to others as to render their visits, and teas, worthy of popular mention in the current press, while the great unwashed eat and drink as daily affairs, and can do nothing of sufficient importance to cause their names to find place in the society columns.

The great body social making the base upon which stands our civil and political structure is a much more serious affair. To be within this is the one great thing; to be outside of it is to be almost dehumanised. Attention is often fixed upon the civil and political overjettings, and these are emphasized as though if one should come in possession of civil and political rights all else would regulate itself. Men are therefore sometimes content to urge their claims for these rights as special, and leave the social matter out of sight. Our best white friends too often stop at this point. Give to the colored man his equal right before the law they say, and his equal right at the ballot box, and all else will regulate itself. These enlightened friends demand in the name of our common Americanism that the colored man be made a full citizen, and equal in the body politic, but at the same time they stand firmly on the ground that he should continue to be a social outlaw.

The objection to the Negro's civil and political rights springs in the main from the unwillingness of the whites to admit him into the body social, as an actual partaker of, and partner in, all that is meant when the terms Americanism, and American people are used. The white people, (or white race as it is falsely called) of this land have conspired with men of the same physical markings of other lands, in forming a social compact into which no man marked by them as "colored" can enter. Two nations, France and Spain, refuse to abide by this social dictum it is true; but we may say that all the other nations called white are in this league. England plays fast and loose on it, sometimes; but she can be counted upon as a prominent power in the maintenance of this social foundation. The white people of this country are the most pronounced in their proclamation of this social order, and the most consistent and successful in carrying it out. Twelve million colored Americans, as good physically, and morally as the like number of any group of American occupants, are effectually excluded from a place actually and ideally in the American body social. Gratifying exceptions may be found in a few cities and states but the rule holds amazingly good.

Colored men must not be allowed to attain business prominence, political place, military rank, literary eminence, simply because these advantages once fairly grasped might overcome the social barriers which now exist. The scene though pitiable is by no means new to the student of history. It has been before; it is only the old play of: Stand thou there! I am holier than thou! The fiction of race is often invoked to excuse, not only the absurdity of this claim of superiority, but also the many horrid outrages which arise from this essentially immoral base.

Anthropological science which embraces within its scope physiology, psychology, philogy and sociology, not to speak of chemistry and the whole science of medicine demonstrates so far as such subjects are capable of demonstration, that the human race is one. The same conclusion is reached also by the special study of comparative religion; while Christianity makes this doctrine about as fundamental as the oneness of its God. One humanity and one God and Father of us all, are the two summaries of its anthropology and its theology.

To men who believe in the invulnerability of truth and its ultimate triumph the present situation is portentious. Such men cannot but feel that the false base upon which our whole social fabric rests is insecure; and that the whole civil and political superstructure erected upon this social fabric is endangered. Error and falsehood are necessarily ephemeral. The base of our own nature must be a lie, or the distinction between the true and the false is eternal, and the truth must prevail. Jesus came to bear witness to the truth and if the false can stand then Christ's kingdom cannot; and in the great moral conflict, the gates of hell will have prevailed over the Church which He Himself built upon the Rock. In the faith that the truth is supreme, men have dared the lion's jaw and the flames of martyrdom.

The enormous falsehood of inferior races must disappear and the enormous fraud practiced upon so large a body of mankind must cease, or it will be possible to maintain that men have set at nought the reign of truth and God. The social league is wicked, or nothing is wicked. I arraign not merely the outrages, the lynchings the seductions, the rapes, the robberies and murders, the vile subjection of unprotected females, but the whole false and wicked system which makes a large body of civilized and Christian people social outlaws. The evil is fundamental, and in this land universal, although varying somewhat in degree in different localities.

Two ways and two ways only are left open. One is the way of conscience. We hear much of the modern conscience in these days of perplexity. Conscience if once fairly awakened as God's witness to truth, will make men obedient to its claims, and the victory will come without physical strife. Men will see the truth and see the God of truth, and will arise to the glory of His kingdom. Many enlightened publicists are now seeing this way out and are preaching a gospel of repentance, and unfolding the idea of a pure democracy and calling for its incarnation; but the masses! the masses! learned and ignorant, cultured and coarse, say democracy; Yes; but not with the NEGRO in it.

The other way is by *revolution,* by garments rolled in blood, by fuel and burnings; by a violence that will shake the world perhaps more than Calvary's tragedy. Let us pray that such a lot may not befall the present day civilization. But we know, unless all nature is a lie, that when God shall arise and the order for action is given, the bugles of the Almighty will never sound retreat:

"Since Right is Right as God is God,
And Right the Day must win;
To doubt would be disloyalty
To falter would be sin."

A NATIONAL DRIVE FOR JUSTICE

Birmingham Reporter 9/11/20

The greatest unified drive in the history of the American Negroes will take place in every state in the United States on September twenty-second. The occasion will be a NATIONAL DRIVE FOR JUSTICE. The speakers will be the leading men and women of the race gathered from the four corners of the earth

The date is selected because of its historical significance. It was on September 22d, 1862, when Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, issued his preliminary proclamation designating January 1st, 1863, as the final day of slavery.

On the occasion of the anniversary of this event this year, at a time when the entire people are quickened as never before in the determination—come what will—to have a full measure of freedom, and an equal share of justcie, millions will gather in their respective communities, and declare by reasonableargument and indisputable logic, the cause for the demands of civilization.

Contrary to what might be expected of some; contrary, if you please, to the belligerent methods of the Irish, the great army of speakers will make their appeal to the Throne of Reason, and to the spirit of fair play so long vouchsafed in our country.

The dictum of agitators that "all the whites of America are without a conscience," is not accepted. Thousands and tens of thousands of whites, North, South, East and West, are now aroused to a high and holy, just and sensible view of human privileges. They have a conscience, and henceforth, by their conscience we shall know them.

Impetus to this great national drive has been given by the recent masterful utterances of Warren G. Harding and Calvin Coolidge, the Republican candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States. Candidates of no other party, and particularly James M. Cox and Franklin D. Roosevelt of the Democratic party, have failed by public utterance to take cognizance of the righteous claims of the most loyal group in America, that lynching in America must be stopped, and that human justice must everywhere prevail within the borders of the nation.

On the day throughout the country, September twenty-second, when these gatherings shall be held, every man and woman, boy and girl, should regard it as sacred. It will be a day of destiny, and there is nothing whatever that should be regarded as important as attending the exercises in their home communities. Public sentiment throughout the country will be strengthened in our behalf in proportion to the interest each individual takes in making the day a success and an everlasting remembrance.

Put this date down: Wednesday, September 22, 1920—the day of a national drive for justice.

DRASTIC MEASURE.

The Louisville News.

The Kentucky Legislature, just adjourned, passed a number of good bills and in the same session passed other bills not at all good—in our opinion.

3-20-20.

Among the latter is House Bill No. 302, an act to define and prohibit "criminal syndicalism and sedition." On the face of the bill it appears to be a good and wise measure meriting the support of all loyal citizens. In fact that was the declaration of its supporters of whom the American Legion is said to be the principal. At any rate an army man spoke for the bill on the floor of the House and legislators, former soldiers, also urged its passage.

We yield to none in our loyalty to the government and, as strange as it may sound coming from our Race, in our Patriotism had ours been the opportunity we would have opposed the measure because it gives too much latitude and too many loopholes for unfriendly and unfair authority to persecute a man, a set of men or even an entire Race. Mr. Peter Campbell, Labor leader, made the same protest on the floor of the House and included in his charge of unfair possibilities the persecution of Colored men who might band together for their common good.

A loose and lax construction and interpretation of the bill would stop the publication of every Colored newspaper in the state.

The definition of "criminal syndicalism and sedition" as set forth in the bill could easily be interpreted by unfair and unjust authority so that men could not criticise the government, Colored publicists and newspapers could not denounce wrongs against their Race, labor unions could not demand better wages and laboring conditions. In short free speech and a free press would be denied any groups or Race if the powers in authority at the moment were unfriendly to that group or Race. A strict construction of the law would be satisfactory to all loyal and patriotic citizens but the opponents of the bill, acting in the light of past experience, fought it because generally the laws are too loosely construed. We wish the Governor could see this view of the matter—he would veto the bill.

STOCKTON (CAL.) INDEPENDENT
NOVEMBER 12 1920

HEROES FOR THE NEGRO CHILD.

The National Child Welfare Association is about to undertake a special campaign in behalf of negro children. This comes as a result of the realization that nearly all of the educational material used among negroes speaks only in terms of white people. Text books, children's stories, pictures, histories and even the stage and motion picture dramas are all chiefly for and about white people. When a negro character appears it is usually in caricature.

It is almost impossible for a white person to imagine a state of things in which all these facts were reversed, with all the heroes of history and legend pictured to the white child as black. Yet the negro child has a soul craving heroes to admire and follow, loving beautiful things and needing to have his ideals, his self-respect and love of fellow-creatures developed just as truly as does the little white child. Says a writer in a recent number of the Social Survey, "It hardly seems fair to the negro child that all his idealism, all his sense of the good, the great the heroic and the beautiful should be definitely associated with white people only. He is in danger of getting the notion, unconsciously, that the white child only has a chance to be good or heroic or beautiful."

Therefore the National Child Welfare Association will get out posters, lantern slides, child conversation lectures and books which will speak in terms of negro life and experience. Institutes will be arranged for training colored social workers, physicians and nurses.

It is strange that social workers should be starting this work only now, yet this is surely an instance in which the faith that it is better to do a good thing late than not at all, holds comfort and encouragement. To cultivate the negro child's higher psychological traits while working to conserve his health is surely a very great step forward in dealing with the race problem as well as in meeting simple human needs.

Racial Consciousness – 1920
Historical and Social

WAR WITH MEXICO; WHAT IS THE NEGRO GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?

By LINN A. E. GALE,

The Crusader

Again the American Negro is to be called upon to do the bloody, butcherous business of the world's worst brigands, the capitalists of the United States and England.

Crusader

Will he be fool enough to obey when the summons comes? Will he once more consent to fill the wretched, brutal role that his masters have marked out for him? Is he still so stupid as to go forth and murder his fellow-men without cause, without incentive, without even profit for himself, and with the certain knowledge that after he has done the dirty work, he will be kicked about, spat upon, enslaved and burned to death with the same contemptuous cruelty that has always marked the attitude of the white race toward him?

We shall see. We shall see whether the fire of radicalism that is kindling in the hearts of this eternal victim on the altar of greedy tyranny will actually impel him to assert his liberty and refuse to be the tool of his exploiters longer.

There are many indications that the limit has been nearly reached, that the *worm is about to turn.* Not a few soldiers who went to France to fight and suffer for the saving of democracy have come back with the gall of bitterness in their hearts and a glitter in their eyes that bodes ill for whoever tries to send them on such a hypocritical errand again. More than one of them has said that if he does any more shooting it will be to kill the "Huns" of America rather than to slaughter harmless workers of other lands. And among the disillusioned and awakened veterans none has been brought to his senses so sharply and suddenly as the American Negro.

Just now an insidious propaganda is being conducted in the United States to pave the way for military intervention in Mexico, the overthrow of the elected government and the establishment of a "protectorate" under which the oil companies will really run the country. Ghastly tales of "atrocities" in Mexico are being published and circulated with assiduous care in the republic to the north. Pains are being taken to distract attention away from the fact that the real agitators for intervention are petroleum magnates and their agents, and to make it appear that the demand comes mainly from victims of robberies and relatives of murdered persons. Bandits are secretly supplied with funds and weapons so that they make rebellions against Obregon, terrorize people and furnish evidences of "disorder" that needs intervention to stop it. A campaign of "education" is quietly going on so that the opposition to intervention may be eliminated before the time of the actual declaration of war. A few months ago American soldiers crossed the border and entered Mexico to "chase bandits" who, it was alleged, had kidnapped two aviators. The aviators were returned with surprising rapidity, but it took a long time to find the bandits. During the search the Carranza soldiers captured most of the brigands and the Yankees made a poor showing. However, they stayed on Mexican soil as long as possible, probably in the hope that they could goad the Mexicans into attacking them and giving an excuse for immediate invasion of the country generally. The Mexicans did not attack them, however, and the attitude of the American people was decidedly cool toward intervention. So the troops were withdrawn and the oil magnates are now waiting a more opportune time. Meanwhile, the process of "education" is being attended to carefully.

It is safe to predict, then, that it will not be many months before a new attempt is made to wage war on the Mexicans. The only thing that can prevent it is such a manifestation of solidarity among the American working class generally that the men higher up will not dare to have their blood-feast.

They who fight the wars can refuse to fight further wars. They who make the instruments of destruction and death, can refuse to make more of them. They who run the mills and mines and railroads can refuse to run them any longer.

This is the only language that insensate and conscienceless capitalism will understand. It is the only language that is of any use to the workers. Petitions, resolutions, protests, meetings and the like have a certain agitational and educational value and are, therefore, useful in informing the public, but that is as far as they go. The same is true of votes. In the "democratic" United States people do not vote on wars, anyway. Wars are declared without consulting the voters. And even if pacifist legislators and officials are elected, the prospect of war profits easily induces them to break their promises. No pledge could be more emphatic than Wilson's to "keep us out of war," but he broke it with the cool callousness of an accomplished liar when Wall Street pressure grew strong enough.

The slogan of the *Radical Review* that "Right Without Might is Moonshine," is true as truth itself. Polite pleadings and respectful remonstrances won't amount to a damn if the capitalist government of the United States declares war with Mexico. The majority of the American people did not want war with Germany and could not see where Potsdam was any worse than London, but they had war just the same. The steam roller went smoothly on, flattening out most opposition. Those who wouldn't be steam rollered were put in prison, lynched or bullied into acquiescence by tarring and feathering and horsewhipping or else managed to flee the country, as I did. The same thing will happen when war with Mexico is declared unless—

The workers use their economic power. DIRECT ACTION WILL PREVENT ANOTHER WAR. Nothing else will.

Let us be sensible and look the situation in the face. Wars, being a phase of capitalism, cannot be carried on without workers to run the industries and fighters to do the killing. The capitalists never do either the work or the killing. They wouldn't, anyway. But they couldn't if they would. They are too few. The workers outnumber them hundreds and thousands of times. *So if the workers won't work and the fighters won't fight there won't be any war.* That is all there is to it. It is as plain as the nose on your face.

From an economic standpoint the Negro and the white man have no differing interests. It is to the interests of the capitalists to make them think they have, but in reality they haven't. They are all fellow workers and they all ought to stand together. This is the fundamental, general reason why the Negro ought to get ready for the next war by organizing to refuse to participate in it. *But the Negro has the special, specific reason that he is a Negro.* Outrageous as it is to expect a white workingman to fight in the wars of capitalists, it is the acme of criminal absurdity to ask a Negro to do so. Some white workingmen get temporary benefits from wars—*temporary,* never permanent, mark you—but *no Negro gets anything out of any capitalist war.* A little palaver while the hellish affair is on, maybe, but the minute it is over he is abused, maltreated and murdered as usual. In most cases he doesn't even get the palaver after the fighting begins—only before, as verbal flypaper to lure him on.

Some Negroes entertained a certain amount of faith in the decency of their exploiters before the last war, but no Negro in his right mind can have any faith left in them now. Therefore, there is no excuse for any Negro taking part in war with Mexico if war is declared. Any Negro who does is a downright, unadulterated idiot—nothing else. But I have so much confidence in the growing intelligence of the race that I do not feel that I need to elaborate on this point. I think the day of the conservative Negro has passed and that with the coming of the radical Negro the mass of colored people will be ready to resist the next conspiracy of international capitalism.

The only question for the Negro, then, is *how* shall he act to prevent war with Mexico? That has already been answered—*Economic power and direct action.*

Organize industrially if you work in a factory. Join the I. W. W., the only red-blooded labor organization functioning on a nation-wide scale and with a clear vision of economic realities. Join as a member-at-large if you have no local union, but try to start a local union. Organize your fellow Negroes. Drive into their minds the fact that war is imminent, and they will be called on to fight as usual, and that this time they must have sense enough to refuse and to resist, if necessary. If you work on a plantation, organize your fellow workers the same as if you were in a factory. Keep quiet about your organization. Your exploiters will begin to prepare, too, when they know you are preparing, so *prepare first,* but do so secretly as long as possible. This gives you so much time ahead of the other fellow.

Don't confine your work to factory and farm employes. Get in touch with Negro soldiers. They are "workers," too. Tell them to *get ready to strike, also, if they are summoned to do any more of the kind*

of "work" that they did in France. The Boston policemen set a good example lately. So did the American boys in Russia who mutinied and refused to fight the Bolsheviki. You will be further examples before long. You won't be alone. You will find more co-operation than you expect.

If capitalism really believes that labor will neither work nor fight in the event of another war, capitalism will hesitate not a little before declaring such a war. It probably won't dare to declare one. If it does and uses force to try to break labor's general strike, *let labor act in self-defense.*

All American workers should get ready for direct action in order to avert another hideous hell of war. They may not need to use it, but let them *get ready.*

The American Negroes, being the most oppressed and miserable element among the American workers, have racial reasons, as well as economic reasons, for immediate preparedness.

Organize now! Tomorrow may be too late!

Inter-Racial Cooperation

AN attempt engineered in a southern city, by southern people, and under the auspices of the southern church to increase inter-racial cooperation for the solution of social problems deserves recognition. The history of the Atlanta Plan begins with the Men and Religion Forward Movement of some years ago. As the final result of this movement, in 1916, a committee of the white churches known as the Committee on Church Cooperation was founded, from which were appointed annually representatives of the ministry and laity of each of the evangelical denominations. This committee was divided into standing committees, one of which was the Committee on Racial Relationships, and frequently but without any definite affiliation it cooperated with the Negro ministers in specific undertakings, holding joint meetings with them when occasion seemed to demand.

With the end of the war and the return of the Negro troops, and with constant rumors of riots actual and pending in northern and southern cities alike, this Committee on Church Cooperation held the first sectional conference of the Inter-Church World Movement in Atlanta. Leaders from nine southern cities were in attendance and after serious deliberation adopted as part of their report a broad-minded, liberal statement as to the attitude of the church toward the racial problem. It contained four definite statements of policy. The first unqualifiedly condemned lynching and pledged those present to use their influence to put a stop to this "inexcusable crime"; the second declared an obligation on the consciences of the churches to improve the living conditions of the Negro race; the third called the attention of the white people to the unfair treatment which the Negroes received in the provisions made for public travel; and the fourth stated that the principle "the smaller the ability to contribute to the common weal, the greater the need for contribution from the commonwealth" applied to Negro education and demanded that the opportunities for development in Christian civilization and education for the Negroes be equal to those for the whites.

This epoch-making conference focussed the thought of the Atlanta committee on their own problems, and soon after it was completed the idea came to several of the leaders, among the most prominent of whom were Dr. Plato Durham, dean of Emory Theological School; John Egan, an Atlanta capitalist and manufacturer, and James Morton, secretary of the Church Cooperative Committee, that a similar committee representing the Negro churches, with which the white committee should hold joint meetings and maintain a definite relationship, would help perhaps more than anything else along the path of racial understanding. These leaders called a conference of leading Negro ministers and laymen and proposed to them the organization of a committee absolutely parallel to that of the white churches. The general committee, both white and colored, held weekly meetings separately and joint meetings once a month. In the interim between the joint meetings any matters requiring immediate action are handled by joint meetings or appropriate subcommittees. The actual results have been exceedingly gratifying. Several times rumors of race clashes have been investigated and quieted. A junior high school has been secured for Negro pupils. A tract of land has been bought and presented to the city, to be developed into a park for the Negroes.

The Board of Education accorded the committee a most respectful and sympathetic hearing in the matter of colored teachers' salaries, with the result that these salaries were materially increased over the figures originally adopted by the board.

Important as these results are, they are not the most significant thing that has been accomplished by the Church Cooperative Committee. The greatest difficulty in the way of a solution of the race problem has been a lack of understanding. Through these committees meeting together and working together there exists a real opportunity for understanding and appreciation.

Another thing that the Atlanta Plan demonstrates is the necessity for the white man to recognize that the Negro aspires to be something more than the mere object of the white man's benevolence. He wishes to work out his own problems with the advice and cooperation of others, but in his own way.

As a result of the splendid work of the committee, the plan has been enlarged and the Christian Council, with a representation of the ministers and laymen of the Evangelical Churches in Atlanta, has been organized. Fifty-seven different congregations have appointed their delegates among the white churches. The Negro churches are duplicating this organization. The connection between the colored and the white organizations is as stated above through the executive committees and the standing committees and commissions which meet and work their plans out together.

R. C. DEXTER.

OBJECTIONABLE SCHOOL HISTORY.

Editor The Advertiser:

My attention has been called to the United States history being used in the public schools. This history gives a false account of the war between the States. Is it possible that the book commission failed to investigate and dares to perpetrate upon the children of our Southland a book that disparages the South and teaches our boys and girls the wrong viewpoint of the war in which their forefathers fought and died? If an investigation were made, then what was the reason for the book commission accepting such a book? General Forrest and the Daughters of the Confederacy were instrumental in having a similar history abolished by the book commission in Georgia. Why can not the book commission of Alabama do likewise and abolish the history before the school term begins, thus saving the children incurring expense of a book that is truly unfit? The Daughters of Alabama condemned this history and recommended that it be stricken from the school course but it has not been abolished. It would be far better to teach no history than to vitiate the young and impressionable mind.

It is an outrage to force upon the children a United States history that misrepresents the South. Can nothing be done to abolish such a history? Shall we not stand by our Southland?

ONE WHO LOST LOVED ONES IN THE CAUSE.